

Mi'ari immunity restored

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EIGHT PAGES
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The New York Times
WEEKLY REVIEW
INSIDE TODAY

SECOND EDITION

Shamir to Hussein: Both left and right in Israel want peace

By ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Shamir gently chided King Hussein of Jordan yesterday for having accused the Likud of frustrating peace efforts in his speech to the Parliament in Amman on Saturday.

Instead of taking Hussein sharply to task, Shamir said in an interview with Army Radio that the king was in error in making a distinction between one group in Israel and another.

"The king should realize that all the camps in Israel desire peace. There is no distinction between left and right when it comes to the quest for a peaceful solution to the dispute," the premier said. "The difference is solely over the issue of an international conference. But peace should not be identified with an international conference."

Shamir's remarks came on the eve of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's visit to the region to discuss,

among other things, advancing the international conference proposal.

"Israel is ready every day and every hour to enter the path of direct negotiations towards peace and it urges King Hussein of Jordan to take note of such readiness," Shamir declared. "Israel is ready to discuss the terms of peace at the negotiating table."

Hussein made a one-day visit to Cairo yesterday for talks with President Hosni Mubarak on a planned Arab summit and attempts to convene an international Middle East peace conference, official news agencies reported.

Hussein returned home last night after briefing Mubarak on "the Palestinian issue and the possibility of holding an international peace conference," as well as the Gulf war, state-run Jordan Radio announced.

The prime minister said that Israel-Jordan negotiations should be launched in the spirit of the Camp

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Striking TV journalists begin looking for work

By GREER FAY CASEMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Striking radio and television journalists began pounding the streets yesterday in search of jobs to tide them over what they believe will be a long struggle. The Broadcasting Authority management is confident that the strikers' resolve and militancy will flag after November 1, when they receive their slashed salaries.

The strikers' salaries are being docked for each day they stay out. The strike committee appointed by the National Journalists' Association is acting as an employment agency and is trying to place journalists in need of work.

The public is not quite as disgruntled over the electronic media black-out as might be imagined. Coffee shop, restaurant and cinema proprietors are reporting a boom in business. Video libraries have been swamped. Gali Zahal has proved to be a reliable alternative for Kol Yisrael. Jordan Television's substitution for ITV has been slightly more problematic because Jordan is still on summer time and the station closes at around 10.30 p.m. Israel time.

The tens of thousands of people who were in one way or another involved in the struggle to liberate

Ida Nudel will be denied the opportunity to witness the realization of her dream when she arrives at Ben-Gurion Airport Thursday night, unless the strike ends or the Second Channel is permitted to engage in news broadcasts - at least for the duration of the strike.

Pinhaz Goldstein, chairman of the Knesset committee appointed to prepare legislation for the second television channel and independent radio stations, yesterday appealed on radio to the Journalists' Association to suspend the strike for one day on Thursday if it does not reach agreement with the Treasury by then. "It is inconceivable," said Goldstein, "that Ida Nudel should at long last come home and there will be no television coverage of the event."

Goldstein also appealed to Gali Zahal to broadcast news in a current affairs format every hour on the hour, arguing that it would not constitute strike-breaking. Strike committee spokesman Zvi Goren said that, to the best of his knowledge, Goldstein had not made a direct appeal to the Journalists' Association. "If and when he does, we'll give the matter our consideration," he declared.

A direct appeal has been made by

(Continued on back page)

Tight security as J'lem marks festival

Temple Mt. courtyard becomes battlefield

By ANDY COURT

The normally peaceful, park-like courtyard on the Temple Mount turned into a battleground yesterday after roughly 2,000 Moslems sought to prevent members of the Faithful of the Temple Mount from entering the area.

Young men threw bottles and stones as police fired tear gas canisters and twice shot bullets in the air. The gas from the Temple Mount wafted towards the Western Wall, where worshippers who had gathered for Succot services coughed, choked, and briefly cleared out of the area.

The confrontation lasted more than two-and-a-half hours and ended only after five supporters of the Faithful of the Temple Mount walked once around the large Temple Mount courtyard under heavy police guard.

Three policemen were lightly injured and 12 Palestinian protesters arrested, police said. East Jerusalem sources said hospitals had treated about 25 Palestinians suffering from the effects of tear gas.

Jerusalem police chief Yosef Yehuda said trouble began before 9:30 a.m., when Moslems in the Temple Mount compound blocked the Mugrabi Gate. The protesters threw stones and bottles at policemen; one stone thrown from the Temple Mount to the Western Wall

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Successful test of Turkish-made F-16s

ANKARA (Reuters). - The first U.S.-designed F-16 jet fighter, co-produced in Turkey, made a successful test flight from Murted airbase near Ankara yesterday, aviation sources said.

Turkey's Air Force has ordered 160 F-16 fighting Falcons for delivery by 1994 to replace ageing U.S.-supplied F-4 Phantoms and other frontline jets.

The first eight will be delivered from the U.S. and the rest will be produced at Murted by TUSAER Aerospace Industries Inc. (TAI), a Turkish-U.S. venture set up in 1984.

The first four from America will arrive on October 20 and take part in Turkish Republic Day celebrations nine days later.



Gas-masked riot-control units patrol in front of the Moslem Dome of the Rock on Jerusalem's Temple Mount yesterday.

Odd holiday mood in Old City

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

It was not the 20 hours that had passed which accounted for the odd holiday mood yesterday afternoon in the Old City but the 20 years that had passed.

In a city where so much has happened so often since they were cast into each other's embrace, both Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem appeared to be beyond defiance.

In the basement of Yeshivat Hakotel where he dedicated one of the most impressive archeological restorations yet unveiled in the Old City - the frescoed remains of the "Herodian Quarter" villas uncovered by Prof. Nahman Avigad - President Herzog referred to the murder the evening before when he addressed the invited audience. But he did not attempt to link the event to the restoration of ancient Jewish grandeur in Jerusalem, in the Gush Etzion ruin of "building a new settlement for every Jew killed."

Nor was there defiance in the faces of the numerous Arabs sitting placidly along the promenade outside Jaffa Gate, the route along which most Israelis enter the Old City. In times of such trouble in the past, Arabs would have kept away from the Jewish sector until the storm had passed. The loungers yesterday were simply enjoying the late afternoon Succot bustle in splendid fall weather, not making any political statement.

Outside the Cotton Market on the approaches to the Western Wall, a Border Policeman and a local Arab shopkeeper - one of the small number still keeping his premises open - lifted back in their chairs, side by side, watching the crowd go by and chatting. "Where are you from?" asked the shopkeeper of an American yeshiva student walking by, a knitted kippa on his head. The student, with a wary smile, told him. "Oh, yes, I've been there," said the merchant.

Tourists flocked through the alleys of the Old City as if they had not heard that a man had been gunned down in one of them the evening before by someone still at large. There seemed to be fewer Israelis than normal in the Moslem Quarter, but considering the circumstances the number who were there could be considered large. A few had rifles slung over their shoulders but most seemed to take what had happened as a passing act of nature - likely to recur, perhaps, but unlikely to recur in the near future. There were also some Jewish women with babies in strollers.

At the Western Wall, neither the murder nor the battle of the Temple Mount earlier in the day impinged on the buoyant holiday atmosphere as thousands of pilgrims thronged the scene. Gerrer hassidim sporting conical fur spinnies on their heads in honour of the holiday were prominent in the colourful crowd.

Elaborate sound and lighting equipment for today's Hakfel celebrations were being set up by professional crews. In premises across the plaza from the Wall, a religious organization was offering views of a model of the Second Temple for NIS 5 per adult. A model of the Third Temple, to be built after the coming of the Messiah, could be viewed for NIS 1.

As a visitor left the Old City after dark, the last words he heard were shouts in Yiddish by an Arab vendor - "Beigle, beigle."

Manhunt mounted as victim buried

Jerusalem Post Staff

Security in Jerusalem's Old City has been stepped up for today's Hakfel assembly at the Western Wall following the shooting of Yigal Shahaf on the Via Dolorosa on Saturday night.

Shahaf died yesterday afternoon at Hadassah Hospital, Ein Kerem and was buried in the Givat Shaul cemetery. Police and security agents are still looking for Shahaf's killer; they believe that the shooting was a terrorist attack.

"Seven people are under arrest, and we're bringing in additional suspects all the time," Jerusalem police chief Yosef Yehuda said yesterday. Security forces had already

A caller claiming to speak for the PLO's "Force 17" telephoned the Agency France Presse's Jerusalem bureau yesterday and took responsibility for the killing of Shahaf.

The caller said Shahaf was a member of the Mossad and was killed "by one of our combatants who later went home to await further instructions."

been increased for the Succot holiday, but Saturday's incident created a need for additional troops, according to Jerusalem police spokesman Rafi Levy. Tens of thousands of people are expected to gather at the Western Wall plaza today for a 20th century version of the Hakfel, or biblical assembly of the entire nation.

The Hakfel assembly was traditionally held during Succot of the fallow seventh (shmita) year in the agriculture cycle. President Herzog will read from the Torah during the ceremony, which has been widely promoted in Diaspora Jewish communities and planned as a major event in the country's 40th anniversary celebrations.

Despite the shooting of Shahaf and yesterday's disturbances on the Temple Mount, large groups of people continued to converge on the Western Wall and other sites in the Old City yesterday.

But Jewish and Arab shopkeepers complained of a sharp drop in tourist business, as potential visitors seemed to think twice about touring

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'No influenza shots if allergic to egg white'

By JUDY SIEGEL

Persons who are allergic to egg white should not go for influenza shots, as the vaccine is prepared in fertilized chicks and could cause an allergic reaction.

This warning was sounded recently by doctors answering questions during Kupat Holim Meuhedet's first phone-in project, which focused on problems relating to flu and other winter disorders.

The callers ranged in age from eight to 80, and included those suffering from chronic diseases and from cancer.

Doctors stressed that relatives of the elderly should personally take them to the doctor for flu injections, as the aged are usually unaware of complications that may result from flu.

Callers were also advised that close relatives of cancer patients should be vaccinated so as not to infect the patients, and that cancer patients who are instructed by their doctors to get vaccinated should do so only three weeks after they complete their chemotherapy.

Children with chronic diseases, especially respiratory disorders, should be given the "split vaccine," which contains a smaller amount of active ingredients, so that there are fewer side effects, the doctors suggested.

The best time to get the shots is from the middle of October through the middle of November, they said. A large percentage of the callers were English speakers, according to the organizers.

Indian troops kill 120 Tamil militants

COLOMBO (Reuters). - Indian peacekeeping troops in Sri Lanka intensified operations against Tamil militants yesterday and at least 120 rebels have been killed in the past three days, state television said.

It said 112 militants were captured in operations in the north and east yesterday, bringing the total seized since Friday to 362.

Six Indian troops were killed and 48 wounded in the operations, the television news broadcast said. State radio said earlier that eight Indians were killed.

President Junius Jayewardene said Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had given orders to the Indian troops to seize all weapons and destroy completely the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) guerrilla group. Jayewardene, in a

televised statement, said he had asked Sri Lankan security forces to set up camps in the eastern areas to protect the Sinhalese people there.

Officials said more than 10,000 Sinhalese had fled their homes in the east, particularly in Trincomalee and Batticaloa, after LTTE attacks in the past five days. About 200 Sinhalese have been killed and more than 600 homes burned or damaged by Tigers since last Wednesday.

Jayewardene said Sinhalese troops confined to barracks under a peace agreement started moving into Sinhalese areas in the east yesterday. He said the government would give all Sinhalese refugees protection, provide food, and rebuild their homes.

Police in Madras, meanwhile,

(Continued on Page 3)

Gaza - a strange mixture of calm and violence

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

GAZA. - "What do you want to go to Gaza for?" the guard at the Erez checkpoint asked incredulously. "You'll come up against burning tyres and rocks will be thrown at you. Israeli vehicles emerge with smashed windows."

The road leading to Gaza bore out the soldier's concern: it was blackened by burnt tyres and strewn with stones which had been thrown at passing vehicles.

Surprisingly, everything cleared

up at Falastin Square, usually a trouble spot. The area seemed clean and safe as people waited at a taxi stand. But at 9 a.m., only a few hours earlier, a sapper had dismantled an F-1 grenade found there. Five to 10 minutes before that, a petrol bomb had been hurled at a car near the Shatti refugee camp, causing no damage.

The atmosphere of calm seemed to prevail also at the military government and police headquarters here. In the late afternoon, officers went home and women soldiers,

most of them unarmed, waited at the gate for an armed escort and a lift.

In an obvious attempt to downplay the incidents, the IDF avoided reporting most of them, and OC Southern Command Aluf Yitzhak Mordechai forbade officers to discuss developments with reporters - even with the IDF's own weekly *Banahane*.

On the other hand, Palestinian youths blocked a road even on el-Wahda Street, just a few hundred metres from the military government headquarters. A teenager and a number of children stood on a mound of earth and threw stones at an approaching car.

There were wide-scale protests, shops were closed and few labourers reported to work in Israel.

Palestinian sources reported that demonstrators marched through the streets carrying pictures of PLO leader Yasser Arafat and the four gunmen who were killed in a clash with the security forces at Sajhiya last week. According to Mordechai the men - two escaped security prisoners and two members of the Abu Nidal terrorist organization - had apparently been on their way to at-

tack Israeli targets; a Palestinian source yesterday called them "martyrs."

Demonstrators raised Palestinian flags - an Israeli source confirmed one flag - and reportedly burnt Israeli flags. One Palestinian interviewed here said he had been at Sajhiya at about 9 a.m. when demonstrators, including relatives of the four, entered the local police stations shouting "Allahu Akbar" (God is great). They burnt a vehicle and tyres and were dispersed when the security forces opened fire.

One soldier nearly came to blows with the owner of a driving school. The Palestinian said he had gone to pick up an employee in northern Gaza yesterday morning and hooded. A soldier turned up, took his identity card and ordered him to clear a nearby roadblock of tyres and stones.

"I didn't place them there - and he tells me to clean up the road," the man protested. "I told him I have no time, that pupils will soon come and I have to open the school."

Finally an officer arrived and talked to the soldier; the latter threw the identity card at the Palest-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

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11.10.87		MIN.		MAX	
		C	F	C	F
AMSTERDAM	13	55	14	57	Clear
BRUSSELS	13	55	14	57	Clear
FRANKFURT	13	55	14	57	Clear
GENOVA	13	55	14	57	Clear
COPENHAGEN	13	55	15	59	Clear
PARIS	13	55	11	53	Clear
ROME	13	55	11	53	Clear
VIENNA	13	55	14	57	Clear
ZURICH	13	55	14	57	Clear
BOMBAY	28	79	30	86	Clear
JOHANNESBURG	13	55	29	78	Clear
LONDON	13	55	29	78	Clear
MADRID	6	42	13	55	Clear
MONTREAL	6	42	14	57	Cloudy
NEW YORK	10	50	13	55	Clear
OSLO	10	50	13	55	Clear
PARIS	5	41	18	64	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	16	61	14	54	Clear
SAO PAULO	16	61	14	54	Clear
ST. LOUIS	9	48	18	64	Cloudy
TOKYO	17	63	23	72	Clear
TORONTO	3	42	13	55	Cloudy
VIENNA	11	52	18	64	Clear
ZURICH	11	52	18	64	Clear

*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

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Jerusalem	Humidity	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	67	15-24	24
Golan	32	16-28	28
Nahariya	66	19-27	26
Safed	54	16-24	23
Hatifa Port	65	20-28	28
Tiberias	70	17-30	30
Nazareth	60	18-26	26
Afula	49	19-30	30
Shomron	51	17-26	26
Tel Aviv	76	20-28	28
B-G Airport	68	18-26	27
Jericho	52	18-31	31
Gaza	70	19-26	26
Beersheba	48	16-28	28
Eilat	42	20-33	33

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

President Herzog was guest of honor yesterday at a dinner given by the Saul Lieberman Institute for Talmudic Research, which is affiliated with the Masorti (Conservative) Movement.

Mr Edgar M. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, was guest of honor at a reception hosted yesterday by Mrs. Raya Jaglom, a vice president of the WJC, at her home in Tel Aviv. Among the guests were ministers, the mayor of Tel Aviv, the charge d'affaires of the U.S. embassy, the chairman of the WZO, the president of the Weizmann Institute, the chairman of the WJC branch in Israel, the president of the chamber of commerce, industrialists, businessmen, lawyers, journalists, and many friends.

ENGAGEMENT - Michelle Goldin, eldest daughter of Asher and Judith Goldin of Netanya, and Asher Raymond, son of Sarah and the late Solomon Raymond from Dimona, are happy to announce their engagement.

Four die on roads

The death toll on the country's roads claimed another four victims yesterday. In the Kiryat Gat area, three separate accidents within the space of one hour in the early evening left two people dead and 10 injured. In Galilee, two army officers, a sergeant and a soldier, were killed when their car collided head-on with a lorry from the territories travelling on the wrong side of the road.

Man killed at roadblock identified as terrorist

GAZA (Itim). - One of the men killed in an attempt to crash through an army roadblock at Netzarim on October 1 has been identified as a terrorist who escaped from Gaza prison last May.

The man, Musbat Ussuri of the Mu'azzi refugee camp, was one of three passengers who were shot dead in the car which tried to run the road block. He was a member of the Islamic Jihad organization and one of the six men who broke out of Gaza prison.

GAZA MIXTURE

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tinian, cursed his sister and walked away.

"I got caught between the two sides," he lamented.

Another businessman, standing nearby, said teenagers would stone his shop if he failed to obey the commercial strike, and soldiers could break open the doors if he did strike.

But some of the worst Palestinian casualties were yesterday lying on dirty linen at the Shifa Hospital.

Ahmad Zakut, 23, a Gazan whose family came from Majdal (today a section of Ashkelon), was recuperating from an operation on his right shoulder. He told *The Post* he had been among a group of 100 to 200 el-Azhar students who went to the Islamic University when someone felt the urge "to do something against the soldiers."

They stoned the troops, the soldiers opened fire and hit one man in the leg. Zakut said he ran to help the injured man when a bullet hit him in the shoulder.

At dusk tension mounted outside. Foot patrols were seen along the roads, guns ready to shoot, while a minute's drive from one patrol Palestinian gathered round a large tyre whose flames shot high up.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

High Court restores full immunity to MK Mi'ari

The High Court of Justice, by a 3-2 majority, yesterday ordered the restoration of full parliamentary immunity to Progressive List for Peace MK Muhammad Mi'ari. The Knesset plenum stripped Mi'ari of part of his immunity in February 1985 because he had expressed public support for PLO leader Yasser Arafat.

Yesterday's ruling was the first in which the High Court intervened to set aside a decision by the Knesset plenum. In previous cases the High Court had intervened in decisions by the Knesset Speaker or its president.

The majority that set aside the Knesset decision comprised Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar and Justices Aharon Barak and Shlomo Levin. The dissenters were the court's Deputy President Miriam Ben Porath and Menachem Elon.

Mi'ari had made his remarks in support of Arafat in a eulogy for the assassinated former mayor of Hebron, Fahd Kawassme, at the el-

Ibrahimiye College in Jerusalem. Likud MK Michael Eitan demanded that the Knesset House Committee strip Mi'ari of his parliamentary immunity and the committee recommended such a step to the Knesset plenum.

By a vote of 39-22 the Knesset then decided to lift Mi'ari's immunity against search and detention and to restrict his freedom of movement in the country. Mi'ari appealed to the High Court to have the decision rescinded.

Chief Justice Shamgar, in his decision, ruled that the court may intervene in the internal workings of the legislature, but it must do so with great care while evincing mutual respect for the actions of the two branches of government.

He said that the court could intervene in the inner decisions of the Knesset when such decisions went counter to the basic principles of the political system and of the liberties it guaranteed, and particularly when the Knesset

set itself was involved in decisions of a quasi-judicial nature. He found that the decision in question was clearly of such a quasi-judicial nature and thus was subject to judicial review.

Shamgar then went on to note that the function of a Knesset member included expressing opinions on political matters. He said that the immunity which gave MKs total freedom of speech in the Knesset itself also applied to MKs addressing public assemblies outside the Knesset. He established that Mi'ari's speech, which was the cause of the Knesset's decision to limit his immunity, was clearly such a public political speech, and was thus fully protected by the rules of parliamentary immunity. Mi'ari's speech, Shamgar said, was clearly delivered in the fulfillment of his duties as an MK.

The chief justice also raised the hypothetical question of whether parliamentary immunity went so far as to protect the rights of MKs who advocated the abolition of the state of

Israel, or of the Knesset, but preferred to suspend judgement on that question. He noted, in that regard, that the law now forbade political lists which advocated the abolition of the state from running in the Knesset elections, but the connection between immunity and a decision to lift the parliamentary immunity of a serving MK, required further consideration.

In the July 1984 elections the Central Elections Committee decided to outlaw Mi'ari's P.L.P. and Meir Kahane's Kach. But those decisions were overturned by the High Court, which ruled that the Central Elections Committee was not empowered by law to rule any list out of bounds. The law Chief Justice Shamgar referred to in his ruling yesterday was adopted by the present Knesset in response to that High Court decision. Its application against specific lists in specific cases has not yet been tested before the High Court. (Itim)

Shultz to meet Nudel in J'lem

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will experience one of the triumphs of his many labours on behalf of Soviet Jewry when he meets on Sunday in Jerusalem with ex-refugee Ida Nudel.

Nudel is expected to arrive here on Thursday evening on a direct flight from Moscow on billionaire Armand Hammer's private plane. Prime Minister Shamir, Foreign Minister Peres and a host of public dignitaries are expected to be at Ben-Gurion Airport to welcome her.

Shultz will arrive in Israel at noon on Friday, and is scheduled to travel immediately to Jerusalem for meetings with Shamir and Peres. He will meet the two again on Saturday night, after returning from a day's visit to Saudi Arabia.

On Sunday, Shultz will meet with Defence Minister Rabin, receive honorary degrees from Tel Aviv University and the Weizmann Institute, meet with Nudel and, apparently, also hold additional meetings with Shamir and Peres.

Nakash's lawyer to take his case against extradition to European court

William Nakash's lawyer, Roland Roth, told a press conference in Jerusalem yesterday that he would appeal to the European Civil Rights Court at Strasbourg to order a delay in his client's extradition to France. He said he would ask the European Court to order France to rescind its request for Nakash's extradition, and to request that Israel put Nakash on trial here or extradite him to France on condition that he serve his sentence in Israel if he is convicted.

In reply to a question, Roth said that he would ask the High Court of Justice to put off any consideration of a possible appeal against the recent rabbinical court decision in Nakash's case, pending a decision by the European Court. (Itim)

TA distributing garbage bags

By JONATHAN KARP

For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. - The municipality is to begin distributing orange garbage bags today free of charge at 14 locations as sanctions by the municipal sanitation drivers enter their seventh day.

In addition to encouraging the public to cooperate with efforts to clean up the city's streets, Mayor Shlomo Lahat hopes this measure will prevent the already severe garbage problem from worsening to the point that it threatens public health.

Virtually no sanitation workers, either municipal or private, were on the job in Tel Aviv yesterday, and residents expressed resentment at the mess that was only occasional during most of the five-month dispute over wages, but which has become commonplace since the workers stepped up their sanctions just before Rosh Hashana.

The municipality has followed through with its threat to use private contractors to collect garbage, but only one of the two companies that began working last week reported in yesterday, and even then with only a few trucks. The other company was frightened off by threats from the municipal workers, the city spokesman said.



Mayor Teddy Kollek nominates Sheikh Abdul Jabbar Zabalah as Mukhtar of the Wadi Joz quarter of Jerusalem yesterday. At the ceremony in his office Kollek said that "Jerusalem is in the world's centre. We must live together and maintain the normal life of the different communities. Despite the tragedies I believe in living in harmony and this depends only on us." (M. Daniel/Media)

Mitzna: Moslems incited Jewish-Arab brawl at Cave of the Patriarchs

By JOEL GREENBERG

Jerusalem Post Reporter

An Arab-Jewish brawl Saturday at the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron was set off by Moslem provocateurs who deliberately held a funeral procession into an area where Sabbath prayers were taking place, OC Central Command Aluf Amram Mitzna said yesterday.

Mitzna told a press conference at the Central Command (see p.4) that reserve soldiers at the Cave had "acted improperly" when they allowed the procession inside during hours allotted for Jewish worship. He said the incident was "serious, and could have ended with far graver results."

Mitzna said a debriefing he held yesterday in Hebron showed that the fight began with "a provocation by a group of Moslems, who were apparently acting deliberately" when they entered the Jewish prayer

area known as Isaac Hall. Mitzna said that while most of the Jewish settlers at the scene had tried to break up the fight, a minority of them took an active part in the brawl.

According to eyewitness accounts, the violence broke out when some Jewish worshippers began hurling chairs at the Moslem mourners through a screen dividing the Jewish and Moslem prayer areas. They later pulled the screen down and tried to forcibly remove the body. Troops who rushed to the scene were beaten as they broke up the fight and evicted the funeral procession.

Mitzna said a Moslem funeral procession had entered the Jewish prayer area on Yom Kippur, but the incident was defused without violence.

The Cave of the Patriarchs contains a mosque - a traditional site for Moslem prayers before burial.

WZO panel proposes end to Diaspora veto over top Agency posts

By CHARLES HOFFMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A top-level committee of the World Zionist Organization has proposed to end the practice by which Diaspora fund-raisers can veto candidates for senior Jewish Agency posts or remove them from office.

The chairman of the WZO General Council, Ephraim Even, said yesterday in an interview that a 16-member panel composed of General Council leaders, WZO department heads and leaders of world Zionist movements voted unanimously last week to endorse this proposal. The General Council is the supreme governing body of the WZO in the period between Zionist congresses.

The resolution passed by the committee says that "decisions of the Zionist Congress concerning appointments to the positions of Jewish Agency chairman, treasurer or heads of departments, should be unconditionally accepted" by the fund-raisers. This would effectively end the practice of "advise and consent" that allowed the fund-raisers to veto candidates for agency positions after they were chosen by the Zionist Congress.

The committee also demanded that Jewish education for the Diaspora be the sole responsibility of the WZO, and that the agency cease its activities in this sphere. The agency, which is run jointly by the fund-raisers and the WZO, has in recent years expanded its Jewish education programmes.

"If the WZO does not control Jewish education," Even said, "then it won't be the real thing. It will be neither Jewish nor Zionist."

The committee's proposals will be submitted to the forthcoming Zionist Congress in December for approval.

Even cited incidents in the past when pressure from the Diaspora fund-raisers overturned or threatened to overturn decisions made by the congress on senior appointments. "If there had been a sincere desire for partnership on their part, then these unfortunate occurrences would have been avoided," he said.

He cited the rejection of Yoram Aridor in 1978 as a candidate for agency treasurer, the removal of Raphael Kotlowitz as head of the aliyah department in 1983, "and most serious, the demand earlier this year to force Arye Dultzin to resign as chairman, in the wake of the Bank Leumi affair."

Even indicated that there could be room for consultations with the fund-raisers on agency appointments prior to the congress, but not after it had made its decisions.

The committee's proposal appears to contradict an agreement reached on "advise and consent" earlier this year, in what is known as the Committee of 12. This body, a panel composed of six members of the WZO executive and six leading fund-raisers in the agency, attempted to resolve a number of issues in the dispute between the WZO and the fund-raisers, and its recommendations were approved by the agency board of governors in June.

The Committee of 12 agreed that the fund-raisers could exercise their right of "advise and consent" concerning appointments to head agency departments in the period immediately following the congress.

SECURITY

(Continued from Page One)

the Old City. "Immediately after an incident of this sort, we feel the effects," said Eli Heller, a shop owner in the Cardo.

"For the first time I can remember, Israelis are requesting army escorts around the Old City," said Yehuda Gellman, a Gaza reservist who regularly serves in the Old City.

Tourists interviewed in the Old City said that they were concerned about the situation, but would generally not be deterred from visiting the holy sites or strolling through the market.

"It's frightening, but I've come this far, and there's no sense in letting this stop me," said Mark, an American tourist.

Since May 1985 four people have been killed and over 80 injured in incidents in the Old City. There have been 10 stabbings, five shootings, and several grenade attacks.

In two of the most serious incidents, one person was killed and 69 were injured in an attack on Givati Brigade recruits next to the Dung Gate in October 1986; in February of this year, 12 Border Policemen were wounded in a grenade attack near Damascus Gate.

Some of the mourners at Shafah's funeral yesterday were angry at the government for not taking a stronger stance on security issues. "Continue with your leftist policy!" one of the mourners shouted

bitterly in the direction of Deputy Minister Ronni Milo (Likud) as the procession from the Sanhedria Funeral Parlour to the cemetery began. And then he said, as if pleading for deliverance, "Where is Menachem Begin?"

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, Southern District Police Commander Rahamim Comfort, and Jerusalem Police Chief Yosef Yehuda'i attended the funeral service yesterday, as did MK Meir Kahane (Kach) and some of his supporters.

Most East Jerusalem shopowners shut their stores yesterday in a solidarity strike that police said was in solidarity with protests in the Gaza Strip. Activists from Gaza had urged the shopkeepers to shut their stores, according to police chief Yehuda'i.

A 16-year-old Arab youth who had apparently been throwing stones at cars passing the a-Tur neighbourhood on the Mount of Olives was shot by the driver of one of the cars, and was treated for chest wounds at Mukdass Hospital yesterday, police said. Nasser Yusuf Abu Ramle was only lightly wounded and was reported in good condition.

Military sources in the West Bank reported several incidents of stone-throwing and burning of tyres in Nablus and the neighbouring Balata refugee camp.

TEMPLE MOUNT

(Continued from Page One)

Plaza struck a 60-year-old Jewish man, who was injured lightly in the head.

Yehuda'i said the unusually strong Moslem protests may have sprung from a false media report that the Faithful of the Temple Mount had received police permission to pray on the mount. In fact, they were permitted only to tour the area and not to pray or shout slogans, he said.

In Moslem tradition, it is a serious offence to bring firearms to a holy place, let alone use them. But Yehuda'i said that the police began using tear gas only after it became clear that guards of the Wakf, the Moslem religious trust which administers the Temple Mount area, could not control the crowds.

"In fact, the guards were being hit by the crowds," Yehuda'i said.

But Anwar al-Khatib, the acting chairman of the Wakf, blamed the Faithful of the Temple Mount for stirring up trouble and the police for overreacting to the protest. "I am shocked," al-Khatib said. "I never expected that the police

would throw tear gas in the mosque area. There was no necessity."

The Faithful of the Temple Mount are dedicated to restoring Jewish sovereignty to the Temple Mount area. They regularly seek permission to ascend the mount, especially during the holidays, when Jews traditionally make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Their leader, Gershon Salomon, said yesterday that he was pleased that the police succeeded in letting his group enter, but saddened that such force was needed for Jews to be able to walk on the Temple Mount.

Some city officials have, however, pointed out that members of the group could easily have visited the Temple Mount area on their own, without media attention or police protection, as many Jewish tourists do each year. They don't do this, some observers claim, because their intent is to gain publicity and make a political point.

"For you this is a show," a senior police officer said yesterday to a member of the Faithful of the Temple Mount about to tour the area. "For me, it's my life."

SHAMIR

(Continued from Page One)

David agreement, which enshrined proposals about autonomy for the Arabs of Judea and Samaria. He added that certain adjustments would have to be made to the original autonomy concept since today Jordan would be the principal partner in the negotiations, and not Egypt.

"Negotiations would revolve around the implementation of the autonomy plan in which Jordan would clearly play an important role," the premier said.

Observers in the Prime Minister's Office said that Shamir sought to react with caution to the royal address, and utter a positive response, instead of simply rebuffing the monarch.

They said Hussein was clearly seeking to use his address as a means of exerting pressure on Israel and the U.S. alike. They assumed that the king wished to vent some frustration at the fact that Foreign Minister Peres had led him on with promises he could not keep, as he also led on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Tehiya MK Rafael Eitan said Hussein had merely wanted to drive a wedge between the Likud and the Alignment and hoped that some Alignment propagandists would quote his accusations in the Knesset election campaign next year.

"Knowing that the Likud has no desire to give up one inch of Eretz Yisrael, Hussein has to find some reason to belabour Shamir," Eitan said. "If Hussein really wants peace he can take the same path towards the Likud which Anwar Sadat took."

Chaika Grossman (Mapam) said that she refused to draw the sort of distinction between the Likud and the Alignment which the king had drawn in his speech. "The fact that Peres suggests tactics other than those of Shamir does not free him from ministerial responsibility for the deadlock and the diplomatic confusion, merely because Peres is prevented from having his way by Shamir," she said. "In any case nobody has any idea just what Peres wants, to this day."

She said that Shamir's oft-repeated statement that all is open for negotiation is meaningless, since in fact he intends to leave nothing open whatsoever.

Belgium to enable criminals to serve in home country

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. - Belgium is to pass legislation enabling 26 British football fans accused of manslaughter following the 1985 Heysel soccer stadium disaster to serve their prison terms in Britain if convicted.

As reported in yesterday's *Jerusalem Post*, France is also considering passing legislation that would enable William Nakash, convicted in absentia by French courts for a 1983 murder, to serve his time in Israel. France would apparently agree to such an arrangement if Israel agreed to permit French citizens convicted in Israel to serve their sentences in France.

In the case of the 26 British soccer fans, currently in custody in Bel-

gium awaiting trial, repatriation could take place under the terms of the Council of Europe Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Prisoners, according to which they would be tried and sentenced in Belgium but would be returned to Britain to serve out their jail terms.

For this convention to be binding, both states involved must be signatories, and the prisoners involved must agree to repatriation. Britain is already a signatory.

Now Belgium has embarked on the complex legal route to ratification of the convention.

While Israel is not a signatory to the convention, the principle provided by it could conceivably be applied in the Nakash case.

With great sorrow we announce the passing of

SONJA VOREMBERG
(nee Zeparkowski)

The funeral will take place tomorrow, Tuesday, October 13, 1987, at 10:15 a.m., at Holon cemetery.

A bus will be available for those wishing to attend, leaving at 9:30 a.m. from the Tel Aviv Municipality parking lot, Ibn Gabirol Street.

The Family and friends
in Israel and abroad

Please refrain from condolence calls.

With great sorrow we announce the death of our beloved wife, mother, grandmother and mother-in-law

LILA BET-EL ז"ל

The bereaved family

We deeply mourn the passing of our beloved father, grandfather, great-grandfather, uncle, brother and brother-in-law

SAM TROMP

who passed away in Amsterdam on October 11, 1987, Tishrei 18, 5748

Daughter: All and Hans Cohn-Tromp
Son: Aat and Bertha Tromp-Telcher
Sister: Too Hamme-Tromp
Sister-in-law and brother-in-law: Noah and Lana Benninga and children
Grandchildren and great-grandchildren: Yaron, Irit, Sarit, Anat, Tali, Betty, Oded, Omri, Guy and Dana.

Board of Governors mourn the passing of

MARCO MITRANI ז"ל
member of the Board of Governors and express their condolences to the family

To Martha Mordy we share your grief at the death of your

Husband ז"ל

Bank of Israel
Governor and Staff

U.S.-guarded tanker convoy sails into Gulf

Jets blast Iranian ship, two killed; missile smashes into Iraqi capital

DUBAI (Reuters).—A convoy of four tankers with a U.S. Navy escort was spotted in the Gulf yesterday, hours after Iraqi jets blasted an Iranian shuttle tanker and killed two crewmen.

More civilian casualties of the seven-year-old war were reported in Baghdad after an Iranian missile slammed into the Iraqi capital, the third to hit the city in a week.

The tanker convoy entered the Gulf under cover of darkness, its air cover threatened by Iran's reported possession of lethal U.S. Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. Airborne newsmen sighted the convoy as it moved west, past Dubai in the United Arab Emirates on a 550-mile journey to Kuwait.

Further north, two crewmen were killed and four were missing after Iraqi jets blasted the Iranian shuttle tanker Rova south of Iran's Kharg island off terminal late on Saturday. Shipping sources said the 239,435-ton Liberian-flag tanker was badly damaged as it sailed in ballast for Kharg.

Soon after the shipping raid, an Iranian ground-to-air missile smashed into Baghdad, Iraq reported some civilians—including women and children—killed or wounded.

Iran's IRNA news agency said the missile, fired late on Saturday, was targeted on a military garrison in the Iraqi capital. Iraq said it hit a residential area.

The new U.S. convoy is the 11th

to ruin the gauntlet of high-speed Iranian gunboats and drifting mines. But this one faces a new threat in the infra-red guided Stinger missiles which Iran said on Saturday it acquired a long time ago.

British newspapers said Tehran had bought up to 20 of the Stingers from Afghan guerrillas, who got them covertly through the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for use against the Soviet-backed Kabul government.

In Washington, Senator Dennis DeConcini of the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee said that if the Tehran report was true, he could not imagine a worse scenario. "Now one of our worst enemies may have one of our best weapons in one of the most volatile regions of the world."

A U.S. Central Command spokesman in the Gulf said the four tankers—Gas King, Gas Princess, Sea Isle City and Ocean City—were being escorted in the latest convoy by three guided missile frigates, the Hawes, Flatley and Klakring. He said a fourth U.S. Navy vessel in the convoy, the dock landing ship Mount Vernon, was entering the Gulf for the first time. It has a docking well to accommodate three landing craft and a removable helicopter platform.

All the American convoys through the Gulf have been incident-free since an inauspicious start when the Kuwaiti supertanker

Bridgeton hit a mine on the first escort mission on July 24. The Bridgeton is still in drydock at Dubai for repairs which are expected to be completed this month.

But Iran has vowed to avenge both the September 21 U.S. attack on the Iranian boat Iran Ajr, which the Pentagon said was laying mines, and another U.S. attack last Thursday on gunboats which the Americans said had opened fire on one of their observation helicopters.

Iran said their gunboat crews used portable Stinger missiles in that clash.

Iraq reported hitting three ships near the Iranian coast on Saturday, although the Rova was the only confirmed strike.

Shipping sources said on Sunday that six of Iran's 10 oil loading berths at Kharg island are now unusable after frequent Iraqi raids, and another could only be used for shallow-draft ships because of accumulated debris. But Iraq is apparently holding back from shutting down the Kharg operation altogether, the sources said.

"I am certain they could take out Kharg in 72 hours," one salvage executive said. "But if they did that, you would find the Strait of Hormuz so thick with mines that nobody could use it." Almost all Iran's oil is shipped from Kharg and Tehran has declared in the past it would seal off the Gulf if its oil exports were halted by the Iraqi raids.



A U.S. Navy CH-46 Sea Knight helicopter yesterday patrols the airspace around a convoy of four refueged Kuwaiti tankers on their way to Kuwait. The convoy is escorted by at least four American warships. (Reuters)

Palestinians repulse Shi'ite offensive

SIDON (Reuters).—Palestinian guerrillas repulsed a Shi'ite Muslim militia offensive yesterday and gained control of two important hilltop villages east of Sidon, witnesses said.

Police said seven people, including a six-year-old girl, were killed in fierce battles between guerrillas supporting Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Amal militiamen near the southern port city.

Amid heavy machinegun and rocket exchanges, Arafat fighters forced Amal out of positions it captured earlier in Baysour and Muharbiye villages, the witnesses said. Sidon residents said the noise of shellfire echoed through the city all day. Black smoke billowed over hilltops and sniper fire halted traffic on

the coast road to Tyre further south.

People who toured the scene of the clashes said Amal militiamen were entrenched in the pine-clad village of Tanbourit and the outskirts of Maghdousheh, both overlooking Baysour and Muharbiye. The villages east of Sidon command the Palestinian refugee camps of Ain al-Hilweh and Miyeh Miyeh and the coastal highway.

A Palestinian source told Reuters Amal had to be ejected "because, by controlling Baysour and Muharbiye, they would have more control over the refugee camps." The flare-up was the latest in a three-year "camps war" in which more than 2,500 people have died in fighting for control of Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut and the south.

49 killed in Burmese plane crash

RANGOON (AP).—A Burma Airways plane caught fire and crashed near a popular tourist town in central Burma yesterday, killing all 49 people aboard, including 36 foreigners, an official report said.

It was the second fatal crash of the national airline in less than four months.

The official news agency of Burma said the plane "caught fire in mid-air and crashed 32 kilometres southeast of Nyaung-U." Nyaung-U is the airstrip for Pagan, a town famed for its ancient Buddhist temples.

The brief announcement did not

give the cause of the crash, which followed a June 21 accident that killed 45 Burmese. The planes in both crashes were Fokker twin-engine turbo prop planes, the airline's mainstay craft.

The sources, who refused to be named, said the plane was on a two-hour, regularly scheduled flight from Rangoon, the capital, to Topagan, 490 kilometres north.

Election smear scandal

Controversial German politician found dead in hotel

GENEVA (AFP).—West German politician Uwe Barschel, embroiled in an election smear scandal, was found dead in a hotel room here yesterday, a police spokesman said.

Swiss police said there were no bullet wounds and no trace of blood, refuting a police report earlier from Kiel, the capital of Barschel's home state of Schleswig-Holstein, that the politician had shot himself. The state government said however that the cause of death was unknown.

The West German news magazine Stern had said earlier that one of its journalists discovered Barschel dead in his water-filled bath when he went to the luxurious Beau-Rivage hotel on Lake Geneva to interview the politician.

But Swiss police said that Barschel "was clothed and in his bedroom." They added that an autopsy would be held today. The journalist who discovered the body and another journalist, who was also in the hotel, were being questioned, they added.

The Stern journalist had said that when he knocked on the unlocked hotel room door and received no reply he entered, and discovered Barschel dead in his water-filled bath.

Barschel, 43, was to appear before a parliamentary investigating committee today created to clear up the scandal that had blown up on the eve of regional elections in Schleswig-Holstein on September 13.

According to Stern, Barschel broke off a vacation on the Canary Islands and arrived in Geneva on Saturday where he met with an unidentified person who would have cleared him of all charges at Monday's panel meeting.

According to the weekly magazine Der Spiegel, Barschel, who was state premier and Christian Democratic Union regional party leader at the time, had tried to use smear



Uwe Barschel (AFP)

tactics to discredit his Social Democratic rival Bjoern Engholm before the September elections. On Wednesday legal authorities asked that Barschel's parliamentary immunity be removed since new evidence against him had turned up.

Barschel's former press officer had told Der Spiegel that his boss had ordered him to hire private detectives to produce evidence that Engholm had committed tax fraud and was a bisexual. An inquiry into the allegations against Engholm was later abandoned because of lack of evidence.

Der Spiegel said that his boss had ordered him to hire private detectives to produce evidence that Engholm had committed tax fraud and was a bisexual. An inquiry into the allegations against Engholm was later abandoned because of lack of evidence.

Barschel who was married to Freya von Bismarck and had three children stepped down as state premier on September 25 after five years in office.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl in a first reaction called Barschel's suicide a "human tragedy."

SRI LANKA

(Continued from Page One)

seized six high-powered radio transmitters during raids on Sri Lankan Tamil militant bases in southern India, a police spokesman said. He said the raids on the headquarters of the LTTE in a Madras suburb and on two of its camps along the southeast coast were to seek the Tigers' leader, Veillupillai Prabhakaran.

Prabhakaran commands the Tigers' resistance to the Indian peace-keeping force in Sri Lanka and police said they had reports that he might have left the island and taken refuge somewhere in Tamil Nadu state. While no trace of Prabha-

karan was found, analysts in Madras said seizure of the radios was a heavy blow to the Tigers, whose political leadership in India would now be largely cut off from its remaining fighters in Sri Lanka. It also showed that India, which has committed more than 15,000 troops to its southern neighbour to ensure the success of the July 29 peace accord, was serious about ending LTTE operations on its territory.

Prabhakaran has denounced the military moves against the LTTE by Indian peacekeepers during the past few days.

'Yes, we may have Stingers,' says Iranian

WASHINGTON (AP).—The Iranian ambassador to the UN said yesterday his country has acquired U.S.-made Stinger anti-aircraft missiles that it will use against enemy forces in the Gulf, including the U.S.

Rajaie Khorassani initially refused to confirm or deny statements made Friday by Defence Secretary

Weinberger and the Pentagon, which said two small Iranian gunboats captured by U.S. forces in the Gulf contained "equipment... believed associated with the U.S. Stinger system."

Asked on NBC-TV's Meet the Press interview programme if Iran had Stinger missiles, Khorassani replied: "We might have. I cannot

deny that. But, I cannot confirm it either."

Pressed about Iranian news agency reports that an American helicopter was shot down with Stinger missiles, he said: "That is also true, yes. It seems that we might have access to them." Asked again if Iran had Stinger missiles, Khorassani said: "Well, let's—let us suppose that we have them."

Iran 'driving diplomat to suicide'

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

PARIS.—Wahid Gerdji, whose refusal to be interrogated by a French magistrate about his possible involvement in the terrorist bombings that hit Paris in September 1986 triggered the ongoing "embassy crisis" between Paris and Tehran, has allegedly been condemned to death by the highest Iranian authorities.

According to the French weekly Paris Match, the decision was taken last August in the office of secret police chief Ayatollah Shahr. It was thought to be the only solution to a situation in which 45 Iranian diplomats and their families, including Gerdji, are prevented from leaving the embassy in Paris in retaliation for the detaining in Tehran of the French consul and other embassy staffers. The consul is being accused of "drug trafficking."

A fortnight ago, two Iranian diplomats came to Paris, one from Geneva and the other from London. The man from Geneva met with an arms dealer. He asked him to forward this message to the French authorities: "We (the Iranians) think that this embassy war is very bad for the image of our country. It is bad for business."

"But since the French won't give in, we ourselves are not prepared to lose face. The only solution is for Gerdji to disappear. That can be achieved by driving him to suicide. We have a plan for that purpose. It will work if you (the arms dealer) obtain the neutrality of the French authorities."

The diplomat then went on to explain the plan: "A specialist will come from Geneva on a weekend, since the Pakistani diplomats who represent us now don't come to our embassy on Saturdays and Sundays. His mission will be to do away with Gerdji. We have to be sure that the French policemen who surround the building, will let him go through and will accept our version, that when he was driven into a corner, he committed suicide."

Flabbergasted, the arms dealer didn't even transmit the content of his discussion with the diplomat to the French officials. But the second Iranian diplomat had the same discussion with a French lawyer, who did alert the authorities.

According to Paris Match, the French authorities said it was out of the question to accept the Iranian proposals.

100,000 Hungarian Jewish survivors of the Holocaust call on Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet leaders on the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution:

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\$1 million expedition fails to find 'Nessie'

DRUMADROCHIT, Scotland (Reuters).—The Loch Ness monster could be alive and well in Scotland's deepest lake but a million-dollar expedition has failed to prove it.

Something bigger than a fish had been detected in the murky waters on Friday by a fleet of 20 vessels in Operation Deep Scan, using the most up-to-date sonar technology. But "Nessie," as the elusive monster is known to local inhabitants, did not rear her head.

"We have done the last of the major sweeps of Loch Ness," expedition leader Adrian Shine told reporters yesterday after two days of scanning the lake. "That does not mean we have made any significant contact in water." Describing the most thorough hunt for Nessie in history, Shine recalled Friday's strong mid-water signal which could not be identified but seemed far too large for a fish.

"We did not re-contact that strong signal. This should be an encouragement," Shine said on Saturday night, implying that whatever it was had moved away from where it had been spotted. "We still think there are some strong sonar contacts in Loch Ness but I don't think it amounts to your monster."

Although the monster legend dates back to the sixth century when Christian missionary Saint Columba reported seeing "a certain water monster," the hunt for Nessie did not start until 1933. That was when a newspaper reported sightings of a whale-like creature swimming and diving in the waves.

After an estimated 4,000 sightings, the Loch Ness monster exhibition centre has pieced together an image of Nessie resembling a large prehistoric reptile with a long serpent-like neck, flippers, humps and a tail.

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A Deeper Dimension

The Senators, Judging Bork, Try to Define Conservatism

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

WASHINGTON
As senators have fallen into line against Robert H. Bork, there has been a subtext to their explanations of why they will not support his nomination to the Supreme Court. Many of them, in criticizing Judge Bork, have also looked ahead to a new round and gone out of their way to emphasize that they are ready, willing and able to support a conservative.

It was a main theme last week, as evidence mounted that Judge Bork's nomination would be withdrawn or fail on the Senate floor. On Friday, three days after the Judiciary Committee recommended by a 9-to-5 vote that the full Senate reject his nomination, Judge Bork chose to fight. But by that time 53 Senators had publicly declared that they would vote against him. And the Senate debate, likely to begin the week of Oct. 19, seemed unlikely to change any minds.

What the debate is doing, though, is forcing the Senate and the country into a fascinating reconsideration of the whole notion of conservatism, especially as applied to the judiciary.

From conservative Democrats like Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the majority leader, to liberals like Christopher J. Dodd of Connecticut, senators have said the flaw they find in Judge Bork is not that he is a conservative but that he is not a "true" conservative. He is an "extremist." He is "out of the mainstream."

Many Democrats pointed out that they voted unhesitatingly to support Sandra Day O'Connor and Antonin Scalia, both conservatives and both confirmed unanimously.

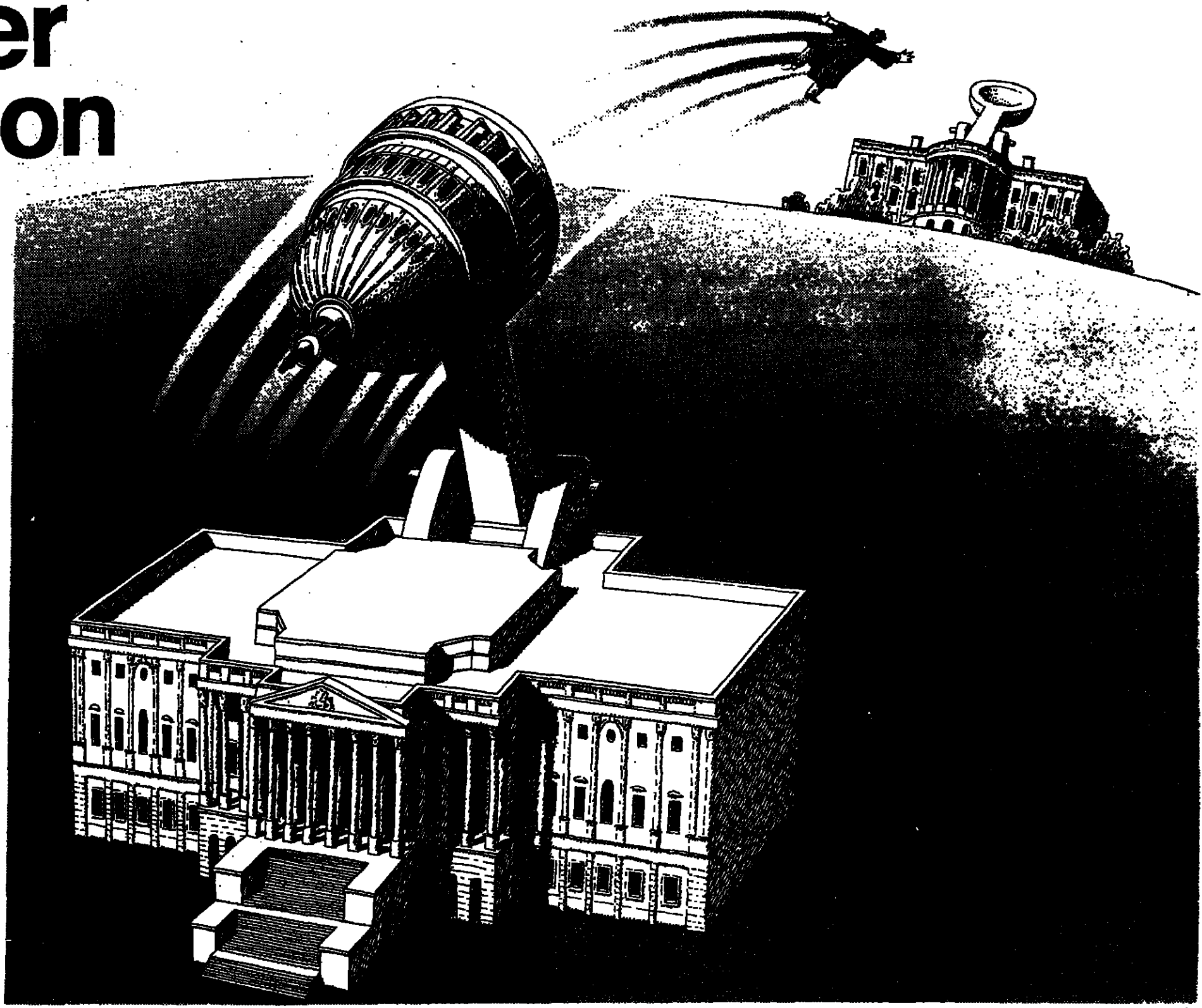
"I want the President to send up a conservative," Mr. Byrd said on Monday, even as he proclaimed the Bork nomination "doomed." "I expect to support a conservative nominee."

The fact that neither the majority leader nor many other senators offering similar pledges defined their terms with precision promises to make another round all the more significant.

Put to the Test

President Reagan, infuriated and determined to extract whatever capital he can from the Bork fight, can be expected to test the senators' stated resolve to the fullest. And the question for the almost-inevitable next phase of the confirmation battle becomes: What kind of conservative judge really is acceptable to the Senate?

In part, of course, the answer will have to do with the politics of the moment. (The Reagan Administration's last 15 months, page 4.) This has been a traumatic fight, and if, as expected, the White House loses it, there will be a strong impulse for senators to embrace a second nominee in order to validate their opposition to Judge Bork and get the whole unpleasant business behind them.



But the fact that the opposition to Judge Bork has gone far beyond politics as usual, leading the Senate and the public on a search for first principles, virtually insures a deeper dimension to a next round as well. In fact, the fight over Judge Bork may have altered the whole framework of the debate over judicial conservatism.

Throughout American history, the word conservatism, as applied to the judiciary, has had competing and contradictory connotations. Judge Bork exemplifies one theme that has thoroughly respectable historical roots. This is the notion that the Federal judiciary, insulated by life tenure from political accountability, is inherently anti-democratic and so should defer whenever possible to the elected branches.

In this view, the judicial review of legislation in light of the Constitution is itself suspect. Judges must be extremely careful, Mr. Bork told the committee, not to infringe on "the liberty of the people to set their own social agenda through the processes of democracy."

At the same time, there has long been another strand to constitutional conservatism. In this view, the elected branches are an ever-present source of danger to individual liberty. It is the role of judges to insure that the Con-

stitution can function as it was intended, as the source of limits on the power of government.

Senator George Mitchell, a Maine Democrat and former Federal judge, expressed this view in a speech on Thursday. "Ironically," he said, "those who speak loudest of their reverence for 'original intent' choose to ignore what is most clearly the ultimate original intent: The creation of a system of government that does not endanger the liberties of the people."

A Libertarian Impulse

This view, that the purpose of the Constitution is to keep Government off the backs of the people, fits comfortably with the libertarian impulse that is a key part of modern conservative politics. It is also a view embraced by liberals, because it carries with it the corollary that judges have an active role to play in carrying out constitutional guarantees of individual rights.

Senator Tom Harkin, a liberal Democrat from Iowa, expressed this view in his speech last week. "Because, unfortunately, electoral politics often silences strong voices of moral leadership in the Legislative and Executive branches of government, the Supreme Court has

evolved into a protector of individual liberties — a role which I believe to be not only appropriate, but essential."

Whatever its political dimensions, the battle over Judge Bork is a battle of ideas. Judge Bork's ideas have been tested in the crucible of debate in the Judiciary Committee and in the country at large. Presumably, they will be tested again on the Senate floor.

One result of this debate may be that the definition of what constitutes an acceptable judicial conservative in the Senate of 1987 has been ratcheted to the left. In a way, the Bork fight has been a long-delayed referendum on the Warren Court, which came to an end 18 years ago.

It was under Chief Justice Earl Warren that the Supreme Court established itself, through its expansive interpretation of the Bill of Rights and the Civil War Amendments, as the chief protector of individual liberties. One of the clearest themes in Judge Bork's writing is his view that the Warren Court's use of the Constitution in this way was illegitimate, and that the Warren era was an aberration in constitutional history. The fight over Judge Bork has required the Senate and the public to think long and hard about the Warren Court after all these years; ironically, it has led many to conclude that that is the kind of Court they want.

A Little Autonomy Did Not Go Far Enough

Tibet is Torn By Ancient Animosities

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

ON a visit to Tibet this summer, Robert Thurman watched as the Chinese authorities took truckloads of Tibetan children hundreds of miles away for schooling in other parts of China.

It was part of a program to give Tibetan youngsters a better education, making up for years of neglect. But, said Mr. Thurman, a professor of Asian religion at Amherst College, in the eyes of Tibetans, it was designed to make their young people more Chinese and increase the Government's control over their remote, restive area.

"The Tibetans felt like they were losing their kids," said Professor Thurman, one of America's leading experts on Tibet. "It made them desperate." This desperation, also fueled by what Tibetans believe has been a sharp increase in the number of ethnic Chinese, or Han, being sent to live in Tibet, lies behind the recent protests in Lhasa, the capital, according to Professor Thurman and other specialists. The demonstrations, which began Sept. 27, have left at least 14 people dead.

Paradoxically, the protests have occurred at a time when moderates in Beijing have introduced a number of reforms in Tibet, similar to the liberalization elsewhere in China. Since 1980, the Communist authorities have allowed the Tibetans to rebuild some of the Buddhist monasteries destroyed by Chinese outsiders in the Cultural Revolution, they have permitted a limited number of young Tibetans to become monks and they have stopped forcing Tibetan peasants to grow uneconomical crops. In addition, the Communists have opened Tibet, long virtually inaccessible, to foreign tourists.

"All this encouraged Tibetans to think they could reinforce their identity," said Matthew Kapstein, an authority on Tibet who is a professor of Sanskrit at the University of Chicago. "It emboldened them."

Whether the protests in Lhasa and the resulting crackdown, including a temporary ban last week on tour-



A monk in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa demonstrating against Chinese policies in his homeland.

ists and Western journalists, will have national repercussions in Beijing is an open question. The Communist Party plans to hold its 13th congress this month and is scheduled to select a new prime minister and party leader. Student demonstrations last winter led to the abrupt ouster of the party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, the most outspoken proponent of change.

Historical Roots

But even more fundamentally, the protests in Lhasa brought to the surface the Tibetans' long simmering hostility toward Chinese. Its roots date back to the Han dynasty 2,000 years ago, when nomadic Tibetan tribes raided the Chinese frontier. In the seventh century, a Tibetan king even annexed part of China, sacking the capital. In the 13th century, Tibetan nationalism increased when China's rulers asserted suzerainty over Tibet. And it was further stoked when the People's Liberation Army occupied Tibet in 1950 and in 1959 when it crushed an attempted rebellion by the Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual and temporal leader, who fled into exile.

The status of Tibet remains highly sensitive in China. Beijing protested vehemently when the Dalai

Lama appeared before several Congressional committees last month and again after the Senate voted 98 to 0 last week to condemn the latest crackdown. The Administration defended Beijing but later criticized the ouster of Western reporters in Lhasa.

To Chinese, Tibet is an integral part of China, and was never more than a backward, feudal area ruled by oppressive lords and lamas who enslaved the bulk of the people as serfs. To Tibetans, their vassalage to China was purely ceremonial, their society a unique theocracy where culture flourished in the monasteries.

"The central issue," Professor Kapstein argues, "is not whether Tibetan life was good or bad but the fact that Tibetans are entirely different from the Chinese."

The conflict became especially heated during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960's, when gangs of youthful Red Guards destroyed all but a dozen of Tibet's estimated 3,500 temples and monasteries. Where once there were hundreds of thousands of monks, or perhaps a quarter of the population, only a few hundred remained. Many were arrested, beaten or forcibly defrocked. Large chunks of Tibet were annexed and became parts of Qinghai, Kansu and Sichuan provinces.

In what was left, the number of Han Chinese has been growing, Tibetans say, so that Tibetans are now outnumbered in Lhasa, a city of 200,000. Few of these Chinese learn the Tibetan language or take any interest in the culture. Beijing has pledged to reduce the number of Chinese, to ward off accusations of colonialism. But Professor Thurman noticed that most of the service workers in the Lhasa Hotel were ethnic Chinese, as were gangs of young men breaking rocks into gravel at the Norbulingka, once the Dalai Lama's summer palace.

Despite some economic reforms, Tibet remains poor, with a per capita income of only \$80 a year, less than half the national average. The Government says 53 percent of Tibetans cannot read or write; 80 percent, the Tibetans say.

The immediate cause of the protests, some specialists believe, is that the Chinese, angered by the Dalai Lama's appearance in Washington, staged a large public rally Sept. 24 in which one dissident Tibetan was executed and eight others were sentenced to labor camps. This prompted a demonstration by monks Sept. 27 calling for independence for Tibet. The clergy have long been the vanguard of Tibetan nationalism, Mr. Kapstein said. In fact, the number of monks has revived quickly, he added, because during the years of persecution many families secretly assigned one son to be a monk.

"Tibetans are proud of their achievements," he continued, and reject the disparaging view of many Chinese that Tibetans are somehow second rate. "The Chinese have been surprised at the strength of Tibetan civilization," he contended.

Iran Boats Hit A Rising Tide Of Violence In Persian Gulf

UNITED STATES helicopters sank a small Iranian vessel and damaged two others in the Persian Gulf last week, killing at least two Iranians and heightening fears that the conflict may be widening.

The Pentagon said three Army helicopters were fired on Thursday night as they tracked four Iranian boats near the Farsi Island base used by Iranian Revolutionary Guards. Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said the helicopters then strafed the Iranian craft, sinking a speedboat and immobilizing two smaller craft. A 160-foot-long Iranian patrol boat escaped.

Iran accused the United States of "unprovoked military action." It said, "Iranian forces aboard speedboats shot down a U.S. helicopter with surface-to-air Stinger missiles and damaged an American vessel." Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati said, "The region is on the verge of turning into another Vietnam." Arab countries in the gulf, however, have been quietly providing the United States forces with military and intelligence support, in hopes of containing Iranian threats to shipping.

The Pentagon said none of its warships were damaged and no helicopters were missing, but it conceded that the Iranian boats may have carried "Stinger equipment." American Stingers, one of the world's most advanced weapons, have been sent to Afghan rebels, who have used them to shoot down Soviet helicopters. Some Afghan rebels have close ties to Iran.

"Now one of our worst enemies may have one of our best weapons," said Senator Dennis DeConcini, an Arizona Democrat.

Mr. Weinberger predicted a series of sporadic "separate incidents" that, he said, the United States would cope with "appropriately" in the gulf. "We don't want to deal with them by a full-scale war or by hostilities of a continuing nature," he said.

Critics of Administration policy in the gulf, where dozens of United States and allied naval vessels are escorting tankers and searching for Iranian mines, have been trying to invoke the War Powers Act. The law would require the Administration to obtain Congressional authorization after 60 to 90 days, if American troops were involved in hostilities or likely to be.

The Administration, like its predecessors, contends that the 1973 law is unconstitutional, and also inapplicable. The Senate, however, voted, 52 to 37, last week to continue a debate on the issue.



The World

Gorbachev's Groundwork for Summit No. 3

By PHILIP TAUBMAN

MOSCOW

AS a chilly rain lashed Reykjavik exactly a year ago, the second summit between Mikhail S. Gorbachev and President Reagan ended in failure. It has taken 12 months to reassemble the pieces that nearly fell into place that weekend. This time around, with more careful preparation, both sides appear to have a more realistic idea of what they want and how to get it.

The real changes in the presentation and substance of Soviet foreign policy under Mr. Gorbachev continue. It is more polished and prudent, less belligerent and ideological than almost anyone thought possible only a few years ago. Moscow's policy has helped bring the United States and Soviet Union to the brink of a new era of improved relations.

As Secretary of State George P. Shultz prepares for talks in Moscow beginning in eleven days, the last stop on the road to a third meeting between Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Reagan, the Kremlin is also putting the finishing touches on a negotiating strategy for the pivotal weeks ahead.

Mr. Gorbachev's short-term goals for the Shultz visit are simple enough: wrap up any loose ends in the emerging agreement to eliminate medium-range and shorter-range missiles and set a date for the summit meeting, probably late November or early December. There's likely to be little argument on either issue, unless Moscow's curious reluctance so far to settle on Washington as the summit site turns into a bargaining ploy of some kind.

Long-term Soviet foreign policy strategy is another question. Mr. Gorbachev, according to Soviet officials, would like to use the Shultz visit and subsequent summit to set the stage for a chain reaction of agreements in the waning months of the Reagan Administration. His plan includes an accord to cut strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent and set limits on the development of space-based weapons, a treaty to ban nuclear testing, a settlement of the war in Afghanistan and Western endorsement of a human rights conference in Moscow.

Mr. Gorbachev's ambitious agenda flows from an interlocking set of domestic and foreign considerations. Since assuming office in March 1985, he has committed himself to the difficult, politically risky goal of pulling the

Soviet Union out of an economic and spiritual stupor produced by decades of rigid rule. To revive a stagnant economy, and to provide citizens with a standard of living even remotely comparable to that of the West, Mr. Gorbachev needs a period of international stability and stabilized defense spending.

Mr. Gorbachev's foreign policy, at least publicly, involves a utopian rejection of theories that have governed superpower relations in the atomic age, including the principle of mutual assured destruction, which presumes that the best defense against war is the knowledge that both sides would be annihilated in a nuclear conflict. In its place, Mr. Gorbachev proposes a world of drastically reduced nuclear arsenals, and an enhanced role for the United Nations in the regulation of military conflicts, economic relations and environmental and other matters. He has also advanced a doctrine of "reasonable sufficiency" in military forces that calls for maintaining an adequate defense but not investing money endlessly in new offensive weapons or feeling compelled to match the West rocket for rocket.

New View of Reagan

While some of this is certainly designed for public relations impact, and much of Mr. Gorbachev's vision has yet to be spelled out in practical terms, the ideas have produced a more subtle, pragmatic approach to Washington. There is a new realism, for example, about dealing with Mr. Reagan, whose harsh criticism of the Soviet Union at first alarmed and angered officials here. In the wake of the Iran-contra affair he is viewed as a President in search of a historic arms control deal, as well as a man who can deliver Senate ratification, even in an election year, and give the arms control process a lasting aura of respectability.

Deep mistrust remains about American motivations, particularly the role of the military-industrial complex in the shaping of United States policy, and Mr. Gorbachev is not likely to make unilateral concessions. But to put superpower relations on a steadier course, he is ready to take some risks, including deep cuts in Soviet land-based intercontinental missiles, the heart of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. Mr. Gorbachev has repeatedly called for an end to nuclear testing, and Moscow's 19-month unilateral moratorium was aimed at drawing Washington into a freeze. It failed, in part because the United States uses its testing program to develop some of the technologies that would be used in space-based weapons.

A three-stage set of negotiations on limiting and eventually abolishing all nuclear testing, scheduled to begin by December, promises to be difficult.

Convinced the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979 was a mistake, Mr. Gorbachev wants to bring home the 120,000 Soviet troops stationed there. He says he needs Washington's help, specifically a cutoff of aid to the Afghan guerrillas. While trying to encourage a semblance of pluralism in Afghanistan, and looking for an international guarantee of Afghan neutrality, Mr. Gorbachev probably cannot solve this problem without accepting the eventual collapse of the Communist Government. So far he has not been ready to pay that price.

Mr. Gorbachev's disillusionment with Afghanistan mirrors a general sense of disenchantment about commitments to revolutionary regimes that have isolated Moscow from more moderate and important regional powers. Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze's recent visits to Brazil and Argentina underscored Moscow's effort to make new friends in Latin America and distance itself somewhat from the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua, which he did not visit.

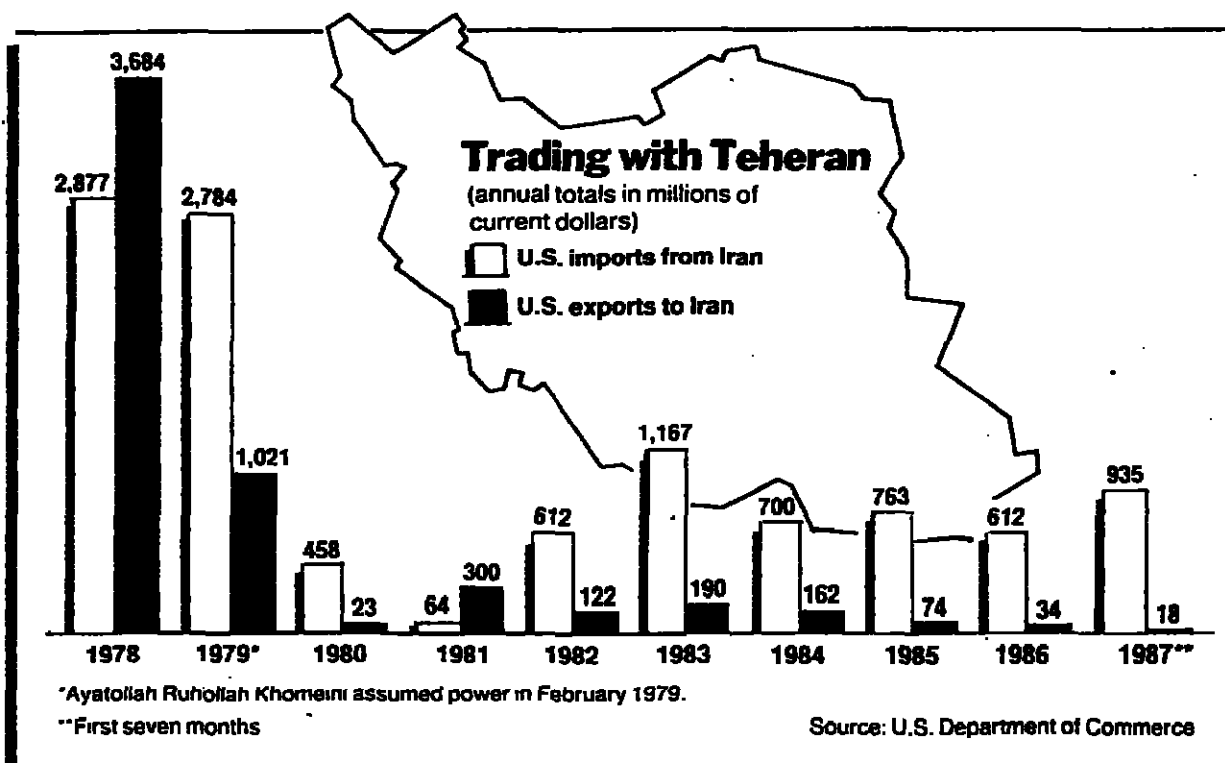
In the Middle East, Mr. Gorbachev wants to expand diplomatic and commercial ties with Arab states, particularly Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and rebuild relations with Israel as a way of regaining influence in the peace process and convening a Middle East peace conference led jointly by Moscow and Washington. Mr. Gorbachev would like to play a leading role in ending the Iran-Iraq war but Moscow has been noncommittal about a possible United Nations arms embargo against Iran, which ranks Washington.

Relations with Israel, severed by Moscow during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, are linked to emigration issues and the possibility of holding a human rights conference in the Soviet capital. Responding to Western pressure, Mr. Gorbachev has eased emigration restrictions, freed dozens of men imprisoned for challenging Government policy and, in general, shown a greater tolerance of dissent. To head off anti-Soviet demonstrations during a Washington summit, Moscow is likely to resolve many high-visibility Jewish emigration cases in the days ahead. Resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel is not out of the question.

"There are signs of improvement in the international situation," Mr. Gorbachev said recently, "but I cannot undertake to predict the course of events. Far from everything depends on us."

A History of Failed Sanctions

Iran Embargo: The Main Import Is Political



By ELAINE SCIOLINO

WASHINGTON

THERE are no illusions either within the Reagan Administration or on Capitol Hill that an embargo against Iranian imports will have a serious economic impact. Since 1981 the United States has bought an average of three per cent of its foreign oil from Iran, and with Iran's attractively low prices and high-quality crude, other customers are certain to come forward and buy.

But foreign policy is driven by political reality. And when an American helicopter caught Iranian sailors as they laid mines in the Persian Gulf, and there were reports that American imports of Iranian oil soared last summer, it became harder for policymakers to justify doing any business with Iran. Last week, after Congress approved an embargo on such imports, the White House was poised to announce an embargo on Iranian oil, which accounts for most of the trade between the two countries.

Some policymakers are concerned that the embargo moves could jeopardize the adjudication of several bil-

lion dollars' worth of claims by both the United States and Iran at a special tribunal at the Hague and that it might be legally challenged by Iran. They also fear that such unilateral action will make it more difficult to win approval of an American-led initiative at the United Nations to impose a global arms embargo on Iran.

Since World War II, the United States has used economic sanctions as a foreign policy weapon about 60 times, more than any other nation. Countries as diverse as Vietnam, Cambodia, Libya, Iraq, Iran, South Yemen, Syria and South Africa have been the targets. Despite the appeal of sanctions as simple, nonlethal means for one nation to exert pressure on another, they are more important for political symbolism than economic impact.

How Cuba Manages

Unless other countries join in sanctions, they quickly lose their sting. One of the oldest and strictest American trade and financial sanctions is the one against North Korea, which dates to 1950. But it has had no dramatic economic effect and North Korea has managed to balance its trade almost evenly between Communist and capitalist countries.

When the United States imposed its trade embargoes on Cuba in the early 1960's it hoped the action would help force the Castro Government to turn away from Marxism. But America watched in dismay as Havana moved closer to the Soviet Union and its Eastern bloc allies and as Japan, Canada and Spain became Cuba's largest non-Communist trading partners.

When President Carter stopped American grain sales to the Soviet Union after Moscow sent troops into Afghanistan in December 1979, Argentina, Canada, Australia and other countries quickly filled the void.

And President Reagan was forced to abandon plans to prevent the sale of American oil and gas pipeline equipment to Moscow to protest the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981 after a number of European governments opposed the move. His 1985 economic embargo of Nicaragua has inflicted only modest economic damage to its economy and has been widely regarded as a tactical political mistake because it failed to attract international support or to shake the Sandinistas' hold on power.

Similarly, trade sanctions imposed last year on Libya have had a minimal effect on its oil and petrochemical industry, according to a recent General Accounting Office analysis. After Libya began to market oil previously produced and sold by American firms, it was American firms that suffered the greatest financial losses.

When sanctions are voluntary, their practical effect is even weaker. When the United States urged American oil companies to cease operations in Syria last November, because of that nation's support for international terrorism, the Marathon Oil Company did not comply and the United States did not punish the Ohio-based company for its defiance.

But sanctions do send strong signals to the target country that its activities and policies are not condoned and to domestic audiences that some action is being taken against another country whose behavior has given offense.

Although sanctions may not force an economy to crumble, they can make the cost of doing business more expensive. In the case of both Cuba and Nicaragua, for example, the American embargo deprives their economies of much-needed hard currency and drives up the cost of transporting trade goods while forcing the Soviet Union and its Eastern bloc allies to tender sizable subsidies to help the economies of these nations.

In some cases, sanctions are the only way short of military intervention to oppose a country's policies. "Trade sanctions don't solve all your problems," conceded Paul Freedman, an acting Under Secretary of Commerce. "They're often the last resort before you resort to warfare, and should be used judiciously. They should be regarded as just one of the weapons in our foreign policy arsenal."

Canada and Mexico

On Trade, U.S. Strikes Some Deals With Friends

By CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH

WASHINGTON

ONE after the other, America's trading partners have been seeking special arrangements to shield them in the United States market from the threat of a surge of protectionism. First it was Israel, now Canada, tomorrow Mexico, and then possibly Taiwan or even Thailand.

Last weekend, two years after the free trade pact with Israel went into effect, the United States concluded an even more far-reaching agreement with Canada. It calls for phasing out tariffs in 10 years and reducing barriers in services, agriculture, energy, high technology and investment.

Soon, perhaps this month, the United States and Mexico will sign a "framework" agreement, setting up their first trade-dispute machinery and calling for negotiations to begin within 90 days on lowering trade walls. Newly industrialized countries of Asia may follow, in what could become a reorientation of trading patterns similar to the shifts after the European Community was created and set up special arrangements with Mediterranean and African countries.

The Canada-United States pact, the fourth attempt in 100 years to integrate markets of the two countries, still faces many obstacles. Leaders of half of Canada's 10 provinces — including Ontario, the most powerful — have expressed reservations.

The United States trade negotiator, Clayton K. Yeutter, warned in Toronto that Congress would not support the accord unless the Canadian provinces also did so. Questions have been raised about the pact in Congress, but no one has yet come out against it.

On both sides, politicians say they are worried that trade negotiations have given too much away, which may be the best indicator of what the negotiators have been saying all along — that a rough balance has been struck. Once the job-creating and other expansionary benefits are understood, advocates say, approval will follow. Canada's economic growth could jump by 5 percent, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney told Parliament. Because the United States market is so much larger than Canada's the effect on growth here will be much smaller but still positive, economists say.

Indirect Benefits for Outsiders

On a much smaller scale, the pact with Israel has already spurred trade, encouraging investment and joint ventures. The forces behind the Israeli agreement were more political than economic, most analysts agree. In the Canadian case, they are almost purely economic. For example, the makers of broom handles in Oregon are eager to take advantage of the elimination of a 7-to-9 percent duty, according to Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon, ranking Republican on the Senate Finance Committee. The end of Canada's 15 percent tariff on varnishes similarly means brighter chances for Valspar, a Minneapolis manufacturer. And reducing restrictions on services would mean that American Express could offer mutual funds or financial management programs in Toronto for the first time, while architects in Albany, for instance, could open offices in Montreal. Canadians, meanwhile, could sell more beef, pork, steel, uranium, copper and energy products in the United States — and architects in Montreal could expand in Albany.

Free trade agreements are supposed to stimulate business both inside and outside the participating countries. The rest of the world gets indirect benefits when internal growth quickens, fattening markets for all. That was the case with the European Community, which is a free trade area with no internal tariffs and a common external tariff.

After the Community was established in the mid-1950's, American businesses increased their sales to Europe. They also rapidly expanded direct investment there, to get in on the projected growth. But as the Community broadened its reach in Europe and, later, the Mediterranean, Africa and even Asia, Washington complained about trade diversion, fearing that the proliferating arrangements were displacing trade at the expense of the United States, rather than stimulating it. California and Florida citrus growers, for example, lost markets in Europe because of Community tariff concessions to North African and other Mediterranean growers. As the American trade deficit widened, Washington intensified its complaints.

With the new North American agreements and the possible extensions to the newly industrialized countries of Asia, some economists wonder if the world is moving in the direction of competing blocs.

Canada's principal objective was to avoid getting hurt by any tightening of American trade rules. But if Canadians are exempted, other countries could be hit harder. "The key issue is whether these arrangements screen out imports from the rest of the world, or are in the vanguard of new liberalization," said William R. Cline, a senior fellow of the Institute for International Economics. "A Canadian exemption has to come out of someone else's hide."



U.S. Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d announcing free-trade agreement while Canadian Finance Minister Michael Wilson listens.

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Reagan and Ortega on the Arias Plan

An Escalating War of Words Over Nicaragua

'The reply of the United States has been to try to wrest away from us our hard-won liberty and to send Somoza's guards back to Nicaragua to rule.'

President Ortega



By NEIL A. LEWIS

IN his three-day visit to New York last week, President Daniel Ortega Saavedra of Nicaragua evinced the air of a man watching events play out to his satisfaction.

The leader of the Sandinista Government was highly visible, and accessible — addressing the United Nations, making his positions on war and peace in Nicaragua clear, over and over, in meetings and interviews with reporters and editors. In the indirect verbal battle with President Reagan, Mr. Ortega appeared to be holding his own. And his strategists sought to avoid the embarrassment he suffered on a visit to New York and the United Nations in 1985 when it was disclosed that he and his wife went on a buying spree, spending \$3,500 for high-fashion eyeglasses. This time there was no shopping. "He has enough glasses for a while," said one aide ruefully. His strategists planned a different kind of publicity: on Friday, Mr. Ortega and his wife, the poet Rosario Murillo, in her seventh month of pregnancy, visited a community center in the South Bronx.

Everywhere he went, he discussed the Central America peace plan that is supposed to take effect Nov. 7, trying to refute the positions of the Reagan Administration. Mr. Ortega insisted in various interviews that his Government was committed to the peace plan signed by five Central American presidents on Aug. 7 — even if this led to reforms that could see him and the Sandinista Government voted out of office. "If the people of Nicaragua, through their votes, said that we should not be in office, then we'd be willing to give up office," he told reporters. "We'd be the opposition." There is no issue that provokes more skepticism among Reagan Administration officials than that claim. "The Sandinistas are simply not going to give up power," said one official. "Anyone who believes that is fooling himself." It may be an irrelevant issue for many members of Congress who are simply unwilling to continue to underwrite the Nicaraguan rebels, known as contras, at least for now. House Speaker Jim Wright says flatly that a vote now on new aid would fail, and some Administration officials do not dispute that assessment.

Nonetheless, President Reagan said in a speech before the Organization of American States on Wednesday that he soon would seek \$270 million in new aid for the contras, whom he calls "freedom fighters." He said he would press the issue, "as long as there is breath in this body." The Latin American diplomats responded with the briefest of polite applause. The following day, Mr. Ortega was warmly cheered at the United Nations, a comfortable venue for Washington-bashing, when he ac-

cused Mr. Reagan of ignoring the wishes of the Central American leaders. Trying to pre-empt American complaints, he told reporters during his New York visit that he would consider ending all Cuban and Soviet military aid to his country if the United States would negotiate directly with his Government.

Although Nicaragua and the United States maintain formal diplomatic relations, they do not talk to each other. But through their public statements this week, both sides have been maneuvering over the fate of the contras. The United States has insisted that the cease-fire called for in the plan must be negotiated by both sides. President Oscar Arias Sánchez of Costa Rica, the architect of the plan, agrees. Responding to the plan's call for cease-fire negotiations, Mr. Ortega also said that he would not have anything to do with the political leadership of the contras. Instead, he said he would work out the cease-fire with individual field commanders. He said the contra leaders were not interested in peace. "It's good business for them," he said of the war. "They can line their pockets."

Watching With Dismay

Underlying all the rhetoric is the Administration's effort to use the Guatemala plan to force the Nicaraguans to negotiate with the contras and to give them some form of political recognition. Mr. Ortega adamantly refuses to do so. According to the plan agreed to by the leaders of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, there is to be a regional cease-fire by Nov. 7. At the same time, all the governments are to ensure that a number of democratic reforms are in place, including guarantees of a free press.

The Reagan Administration has watched with dismay as the Arias-Guatemala plan has gained increasing support, both in the region and in Congress. Moreover, Mr. Ortega has moved smartly to comply with some of the requirements of the plan and to seize the political initiative by allowing the reopening of an opposition newspaper and the Roman Catholic radio station. Mr. Ortega warned, however, that the newspaper, La Prensa, would be closed again if it supported Mr. Reagan's request for new aid. In his United Nations speech, he said "Rambo exists only in the movies."

Still, Mr. Ortega's refusal to deal with the contra leadership, even over a cease-fire, could change the situation quickly. First of all, it is unclear that any contra field commanders will accept his offer to negotiate separately. If that is the case, he might find it difficult to maintain the posture of full compliance with the treaty, the posture that has helped him in Congress and thwarted Administration efforts to gain approval of new aid for the contras.

'I make a solemn vow — as long as there is breath in this body, I will speak and work, strive and struggle, for the cause of the Nicaraguan freedom fighters.'

President Reagan



The New York Times/Chester Higgins Jr. (Ortega), Paul Hasegawa

Mexico's Salinas Is 39

For Latin America, A Greening at the Top

By LARRY ROHTER

MEXICO CITY — In his 1975 novel "The Autumn of the Patriarch," Gabriel García Márquez imagined a Latin American despot so aged that he was "older than all old men and all old animals on land or sea." To Latin Americans familiar with Juan Perón, Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay or Arnulfo Arias of Panama, among others, the portrayal was less a fantasy than a deft rendering of an all-too-familiar prototype.

Nowadays, though, a more youthful generation of leaders appears to be emerging. Mexico's dominant party last week proclaimed 39-year-old Carlos Salinas de Gortari as its presidential candidate. Next year, Mr. Salinas will become the youngest Mexican president in more than 50 years. However, the Peruvian President, Alan García, now 38, will still be Latin America's youngest elected leader.

Elsewhere in the region Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sánchez is 46 and President Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo of Guatemala had just turned 43 when he was sworn in last year. Julio María Sanguinetti of Uruguay who, like Mr. Cerezo, was elected president after a long period of authoritarian military rule, was 48 when he won in 1984.

"There is clearly a trend toward younger, more modern leadership in Latin America,

particularly in those countries emerging from harsh dictatorships," said Guillermo O'Donnell, an Argentine political scientist who heads the Kellogg Center for International Relations at the University of Notre Dame. "The experience of political repression and economic destructiveness has created a commitment to democracy and a search for new personalities with new solutions."

The young leaders have promised change, and for the most part they have delivered on their pledges. Mr. García has taken an aggressive stance on Peru's foreign debt, linking payments to exports and, more recently, has stirred things up by nationalizing banks. Mr. Arias won international support for his Central American peace plan, with crucial assistance from Mr. Cerezo.

Breaking a Logjam

Whether Mr. Salinas will be as innovative is still unclear. "I belong to a new generation," he said, promising "modernization" and "national renovation" when he was officially named as his apparent to President Miguel de la Madrid. Two of his closest associates are contemporaries: The current Secretary of Urban Development and Ecology, Manuel Camacho Solís, and the governor of the state of Guerrero, Francisco Ruiz Massieu, are both 41.

He has also promised a larger role for young people, acknowledging a reality that is more obvious every year: 60 percent of the 420 million people of Latin America are under 26 years old.

Most are poor and frustrated, which makes them fertile terrain for revolutionary guerrilla groups such as the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, the majority of whose nine leaders were under 40 when they seized power in 1979.

Mr. García and Mr. Cerezo appealed to young people with "a new discourse," Dr. O'Donnell said. "A very basic reason for their success has been their emphasis on public freedoms, human rights and social justice" instead of nationalism and economic growth at any cost.

Although the new leaders differ on important ideological issues, they have all read and traveled widely. Mr. Salinas has two master's degrees and a Ph.D. from Harvard University. Mr. García did graduate work for five years in Madrid and Paris, and Mr. Arias has a graduate degree from the London School of Economics. "They are much less provincial than the typical Latin American politician," Dr. O'Donnell said.

Their emergence marks the breaking of a generational logjam. Latin American politics has been oriented more toward personalities than parties, producing strong leaders who have remained for decades. As long as men in their 70's — like Ricardo Balbín of the Argentine Radical Union and the Peruvian, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance — dominated the scene, younger leaders had only limited prospects. Mr. Haya de la Torre was 84 when he died in 1979; by 1982, Mr. García had already risen to party secretary general.

For Mr. Cerezo, the circumstances were different. As he has acknowledged, he became president only because two senior members of his Christian Democratic Party — the mayor of Guatemala City, Manuel Colom Argueta, and former Foreign Minister Alberto Fuentes Mohr — were killed by death squads during a military dictatorship. "These men were older and more widely known than I was," Mr. Cerezo noted.

Seeking a Wider Role

Reborn Peronists Flex Their Muscles



Antonio Cafiero

By SHIRLEY CHRISTIAN

BUENOS AIRES — THE triumph of the Peronists in Argentina's congressional and provincial elections last month weighs almost as heavily on the victors as on President Raúl Alfonsín and his party, the Radical Civic Union. The movement born four decades ago as Juan Perón's personal political vehicle now faces both the burden of its recent success and the burden of its history.

Antonio Cafiero, the victorious candidate for governor of Buenos Aires province, has suggested that too much success might not be good for the reborn Peronists, who swept 16 governorships while provincial parties took three.

In the voting to renew half of the lower house of Congress, the Peronists received 41.5 per cent of the vote and the Radicals 37.3 per cent. The Radicals lost their majority but will still have the most seats, 117, while the Peronists will have 105. No seats were up for renewal in the Senate, where the Peronists have 21, the Radicals 18 and smaller parties 7.

Mr. Cafiero, whose victory gave him claim to national leadership of the party, argues that the Peronists of today are a born-again political party capable of behaving with maturity in a democratic setting.

At the same time, he is forthcoming in acknowledging there were errors in the Peronist past, without spelling them out. But he complains that both the Radicals and the foreign media try to make the Peronists look like "a bunch of recalcitrant populists" who have not changed since the 1940's.

Peronism, officially called the Justicialista Party, is usually described as more of an emotion than a political philosophy. It is based on the personalities and ideas of Mr. Perón and his second wife, Eva Duarte.

Originally modeled loosely on Mussolini's fascism, including extreme economic nationalism, au-

thoritarianism and huge government benefit programs, Peronism eventually proved broad enough to spawn the leftist urban guerrilla movement, the Montoneros. Their terrorist actions at the beginning of the 1970's created chaos and brought an even more murderous military reaction.

Argentines who are not Peronists tend to be fiercely and emotionally anti-Peronist. They equate Peronism to irrational behavior, to control by political bosses, and to perpetual acquiescence to the demands of the General Confederation of Labor, the trade union organization that is the backbone of the Peronist movement and one of the most powerful labor groups in the world.

Mr. Perón's death in 1974 left the Peronists without a strong leader and when Mr. Alfonsín won overwhelming victory in the presidential elections four years ago, they were badly splintered and looked to be dying as a party. Since then they have gone through an internal self-criticism, coupled with democratization in how they select their leaders and candidates. Mr. Cafiero has been one of the leaders of this "renovation."

'Strange Presences'

Although Peronist support has traditionally come from workers in the industrial belt surrounding Buenos Aires and the big provincial towns, Mr. Cafiero says that this time the Peronists also attracted some of the independent voters who went for the Radicals in 1983.

The Peronists are searching for their role in the last two years of the six-year term of Mr. Alfonsín. Mr. Cafiero said they did not want to participate in a coalition government and did not intend to block the President's ability to govern. They want to flex the muscle they gained at the polls without seeming to destabilize the Government, a universal concern at this early point in the country's transition to democracy.

Mr. Cafiero said there are still some "strange presences" in the Peronist movement, but said it was the "renovation" sector that came out of the elections strengthened and that the others will have to accept his group's direction. The other significant Peronist leader to emerge from these elections, Carlos Saúl Menem, who was re-elected governor of La Rioja province, is also in the "renovation" line.

At this point, he and Mr. Cafiero are seen as the possible Peronist presidential candidates in 1989. In the meantime, the party rank and file will be waiting to see what their leaders can do for them, and the rest of Argentina observing the Peronist behavior with a skeptical eye.



Carlos Salinas de Gortari accepting his party's nomination as candidate for President in election next year.

The Nation

Battered but Still Swinging, Reagan Enters Final Rounds



Judge Robert H. Bork announcing that he will not withdraw as nominee to the Supreme Court.

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

THE cry that President Reagan is now incontrovertibly a lame-duck President grew louder last week as the odds grew longer against the Senate's voting to confirm Judge Robert H. Bork for the Supreme Court.

Mr. Bork vowed Friday to force a vote on the Senate floor, though he said he had "no illusions" about the outcome. He had been "assessed and treated like a political candidate," he complained, and would stay the course to discourage "public campaigns of distortion" in the future. President Reagan called the judge's opponents a "lynch mob." Conservative Republicans urged Mr. Bork to go forward in the belief that the voters would eventually punish senators who went on record against him. But a majority of the Senate had declared opposition to the judge, and even his supporters agreed there was virtually no chance of confirmation.

Mr. Bork's experience is another measure of how far Mr. Reagan's political powers have slipped since the days when Congress cowered at the thought of his going on television and stirring up his supporters. Unless, against all expectations, he wins the Bork battle, emboldened lawmakers may now try to challenge Mr. Reagan more directly on such issues as arms control, aid to the contra rebels and trade and budget matters.

The White House insists that the wound inflicted by the battle will not be fatal. "We still have more things to do than the President feels strongly about," said one senior Presidential aide. "We'll win some and we'll lose some." For one thing, of course, a Senate vote against Mr. Bork does not obliterate Mr. Reagan's right to name a replacement for Justice Lewis F. Powell, the crucial swing vote on the High Court — and that choice will undoubtedly be a conservative.

Moreover, despite a cacophony of Congressional criticism, it is Mr. Reagan's policy that is being carried out in the Persian Gulf. While the Senate Judiciary Committee was blocking Judge Bork, the Congress was failing to pass legislation that would restrict Mr. Reagan's freedom of action in the gulf.

In addition, a President automatically commands an extra measure of support when dealing with the Soviet Union, and Washington and Moscow should soon put the final touches on an agreement banning all intermediate-range missiles. That agreement, likely to be signed at a

summit meeting later this year, could help refurbish Mr. Reagan's reputation as a leader.

But for months the White House has described the Bork nomination as Mr. Reagan's top domestic priority and as a pivotal test of strength. In August, one senior official said the selection of Judge Bork "reflects, more than anything else, the President's personal priorities." Another aide said, "This is one you don't want to lose."

The President has long stressed the importance of the Supreme Court's role and criticized many of its decisions as too liberal. When Justice Powell decided to retire last June, he handed Mr. Reagan a priceless opportunity to tip the bench to the right.

This opening was particularly important because the President has tried vainly for almost seven years to persuade Congress to enact his views on such "social issues" as abortion and school prayer. Mr. Reagan saw Judge Bork as a justice who would push the Court toward positions that Congress had repeatedly rejected. If, as expected, the full Senate votes down Judge Bork's nomination, it will be in part a repudiation of that social agenda. As Senator George J. Mitchell, a Maine Democrat, put it when he announced his opposition to the judge: "The American people agree with the Supreme Court. They don't agree with Judge Bork." Or, he might have added, with President Reagan.

The Inevitable Loss of Power

Any President entering the final two years of his second term is at a severe disadvantage; the 22d Amendment, which bars him from running again, guarantees a gradual loss of influence. The same holds true for any President who announces his retirement. After Lyndon B. Johnson decided in March 1968 that he would not seek re-election that November, Chief Justice Earl Warren retired. Mr. Johnson lacked the political power to push through his choice to replace Mr. Warren, Justice Abe Fortas, in the face of a filibuster by conservative senators who rallied against the liberal Warren Court, questioned Mr. Fortas's integrity — and asserted that Mr. Johnson's successor should be the one to fill the vacancy.

Mr. Reagan's problems in this regard have been compounded by the results of the 1986 elections and the tenacity of his opponents. Two years ago, Senate Democrats and their liberal allies started developing a strategy to oppose any Supreme Court nomination, and after trying it out on several lower court nominees, the opponents were in fighting trim when Judge Bork was nominated.

As the 1986 elections approached, both parties said that the biggest issue was how the Congress would deal with a possible Supreme Court nominee. As Mr. Reagan roamed the country last fall, urging the retention of a Republican Senate, he frequently mentioned the importance of the Court. But when the Democrats won a majority, they felt they had a mandate to oppose many of Mr. Reagan's policies, and when the Administration was further crippled by the lingering effects of the Iran-contra affair, the President's rivals smelled blood.

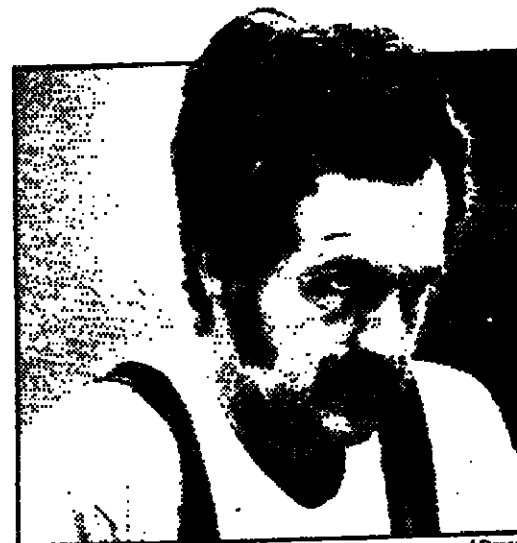
Mr. Reagan acted as if the elections had not happened. He vetoed the Clean Water Bill and was quickly overridden. Then he rejected the highway bill, and was deeply embarrassed when 13 Republican senators resisted his personal appeal to uphold that veto.

Since then, Congress has brushed aside his objections to a budget, a trade bill and a variety of arms control issues. But the President still has the veto, and that means he cannot be ignored.

During the final 15 months of the Reagan Presidency, Washington is likely to be ruled by what amounts to a coalition government — a Republican President and a Democratic Congress, each with the power to check the other. The question is whether they will be able to agree on compromise policies, or whether deadlock will persist until a new President takes office.

Murder Twist

A Survivor Held, A Victim Cleared



James Schnick during arraignment.

KIRK Buckner, a 14-year-old farm boy who had never been in trouble, went to his grave branded a mass murderer. And it is one of the apparitions in this town's nightmare that he might always have been remembered that way.

The boy died in a killing rampage that also took the lives of his parents, three younger brothers and an aunt. The gun was found in his hand. But on Monday, a week after the funeral service for all the seven dead, the police filed murder charges against Kirk's uncle, James Schnick, who had been believed to be the sole surviving victim of the attack.

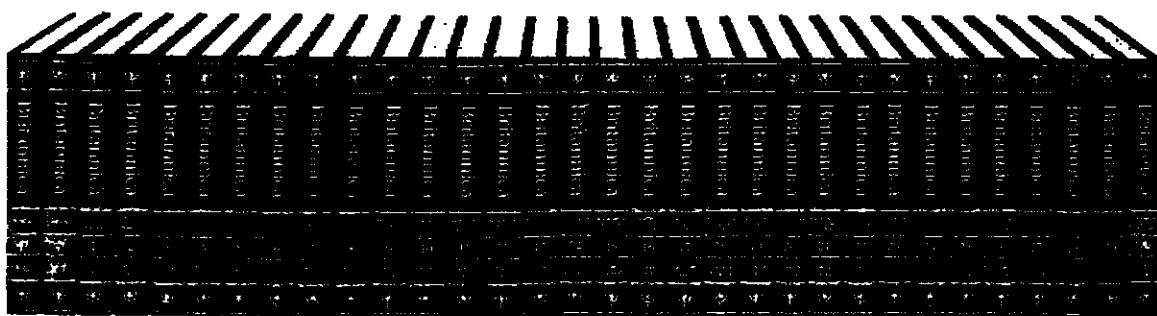
All along, many residents of this tiny community in the Ozarks had insisted that Kirk could not have been guilty. But they realized, too, the strong possibility that this boy's name would be recalled with horror.

"That boy loved his family," said Lloyd Hamilton, a farmer here who knew the Buckners. "He was the kind of boy you'd be proud to have as a son. But nobody would have remembered it that way."

The boy lived in poverty, but no one recalled his ever complaining about the things he did not have. He was well-behaved — he would "look you in the eye and talk sense," his principal said — and hard-working, rising before the sun to do his chores. How would it have been, Mr. Hamilton asked, if Kirk had scamped his work and complained about being poor? Would the townspeople still have deluged the police with tips and calls in his defense? Would the case have been closed?

"It makes you wonder," Mr. Hamilton said, "if sometimes being innocent is enough."

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Onstage in the Global Village

By JOHN ROCKWELL

Twenty years after Marshall McLuhan's heyday, and a decade after he might have seemed passé, what he said seems to have come, incontrovertibly true. We really do live now in a "global village" where nearly everyone — or at least the more sensitive among us, meaning our artists — is affected by everyone else. It is increasingly difficult today for a Western artist, who once might have stayed safely within the course of his own culture's evolution, to remain apart from the traditions of other cultures. This is the era of international artistic cross-fertilization, and this week Peter Brook's "Mahabharata" opens at the Brooklyn Academy of Music as if to prove the point.

A nine-hour — not counting two intermissions — theatrical realization of the Hindu epic of the same name, "The Mahabharata" can — must — be approached on many levels. It is the climax thus far of Mr. Brook's own remarkable career as a theatrical innovator. It is a populist stage spectacle with razzle-dazzle special effects, based on a terrific story. It is the theatrical equivalent (although here Mr. Brook himself grows diffident) of the philosophical and religious ceremonies and belief systems at the heart of Hinduism.

But in addition to all that, "The Mahabharata" is an English-born, French-based director's vision of a French author's condensation of a huge, ancient Indian book, using a multinational cast and now touring the world. It is thus inherently a realization of McLuhan's thesis, a vibrant proof of the vitality of artistic hybridization.

A fascination with the "mysterious East" was once a mere faddish gloss on colonialism, a half-guilty, half-delicious projection of fantasies on distant parts of the world that few Westerners really knew. But in our own time, once-exotic art forms have become widely accessible. Performers from all over the world tour here, and interested Western artists can and do visit them on their own turf. They are

available on recordings, films and videos.

The result has been an explosion of Western performing arts overtly indebted to Asian and African traditions. One could add the name of almost any important, creatively original performer of this century. From Satish Dhawan's Egyptian-Indian modern dance pioneering to Puccini's "Turandot" opera, "Turandot" from Samuel Beckett's theater of "nothingness" and Benjamin Britten's "The Turn of Mind" both inspired by Japanese drama, to the contemporary work of director Ariane Mnouchkine, a colorful kaleidoscope of Oriental theater; from Laura Pless's "The Spinning Wheel" to Philip Glass's minimalist music, based on Indian rhythms and theater and animated by Tibetan Buddhism — few artistic endeavors of our time have escaped the influence of non-Western arts.

The works influenced are sometimes subtly, sometimes radically different from traditional Western music, dance and theater. Even its fairly recent modernist manifestations. Such art can seem merely jejune, innocent copies of traditions inseparable from the cultures that gave them birth. McLuhan's international utopia is not yet fully upon us; often, foreign imitations are unfaithful to the originals. But, surprisingly, seemingly brutal borrowings can sometimes appear strikingly fresh in a new cultural context. For the artists can be informed by Eastern religious and philosophical ideas even when their work does not seem Oriental on the surface. Even a seemingly incoherent pastiche can make sense, coalescing into a persuasive whole almost in spite of disparate elements. And it may be that no work better exemplifies all these perhaps improbable virtues than Mr. Brook's "Mahabharata."

There are all manner of dangers inherent in such borrowings, to be sure. Distant cultures can be crudely stereotyped, especially if the stereotyping accompanies political, military or economic domination. But the greatest danger, artistically speaking, is that sounds and movements



A masked Bruce Myers in "The Mahabharata," at the New Wave Festival in Brooklyn, N.Y.

and gestures can be yanked crudely out of context, destroying their millennium-old connection to tradition. We may understand exotic art far better than our grandparents did, but there is still an enormous cultural gulf.

But the benefits of our artistic world drawing closer together clearly outweigh any latent pitfalls. First of all, the very gulf between cultures

makes exact emulation nearly impossible. Something detached abruptly from one culture may seem genuinely innovative in another. There is even a theory that holds that "originality" is merely an ineptly achieved copy. Western classical composers and choreographers and theater directors, however well grounded they may be in their own traditions, may be neophytes when they copy Eastern forms. But their very misunderstanding may lead to vital new hybrid art.

It can also be argued that the very notion of an eclectic pastiche can lead to a new, vital art. "The Mahabharata" itself, despite its Indian origins, is an example of such a dizzying mixture, starting with its multinational cast, French writer, Japanese com-

poser and English director. Eclecticism is commonly derided these days but Mr. Brook, in a recent interview, saw it as positive.

"The different cultures can be seen as fragments of a whole, pointing toward a complete man," he said. "When a group of actors comes from many cultures, their aim, their function, is not to bring with them fragments of their own cultures, but to bring themselves, as they are. An African actor, at the very moment he is telling his portion of the story, brings with him a different tone, a different music than an American actor."

For Mr. Brook, the pitfalls of such pastiches can be overcome by a director who can sense, intuitively or intellectually, just how to combine the elements at his disposal. "I constantly warn actors and myself about the danger of mixtures," he said. "But you can make something wonderful if you're a good chef, when you know how to balance the sweet with the sour. The ultimate goal is simply the quality of the performance, the quality of the experience. In the theater, I'm interested in only one thing — the life that flows and the quality of life that flows."

The idea of such an animating spirit even applies to devices borrowed from age-old non-Western traditions. In "The Mahabharata," Mr. Brook has sought not to imitate Indian theater explicitly, seeking instead a simpler, more universally accessible style. Yet, he adds, "Form is an expression of content. If the feeling of love is there, then any gesture can be completely understandable to one who doesn't know the form. There is a universality of feeling, and it is the same for all people."

Although he is painstakingly careful to discount direct parallels between the theater and religious ritual, Mr. Brook himself can be said to have been inspired by a Western-based, eclectic form of Oriental wisdom. He has long drawn inspiration from G. I. Gurdjieff, a Russian seeker who sifted through the religions of the East early in this century, searching out a blend that suited his philosophical palate; Mr. Brook, who made a film about Gurdjieff, "Meetings With Remarkable Men," has done something similar in the theater.

In a sense, the adoption of non-

Western practices has returned Western performing arts to conditions that existed in earlier centuries. The revival of explicit myth-making harkens back to Greek tragedy and medieval liturgical drama (and to their self-conscious revival by Richard Wagner). The rejection of theatrical and filmic naturalism in favor of ritual and broad gesture again goes back to the Middle Ages and commedia dell'arte, and to the artifices of Shakespeare's theater and the extreme high style of the French Baroque (the closest parallel to which is Chinese opera).

Might the Easternization of the West imply, the eventual demise of the Western artistic tradition? Perhaps, but all things evolve, and the East, itself so Westernized by now, is changing as rapidly as we are. Just as Western-style consumer goods (even when made in Japan) define the "international" world of the business and political elite, so have symphony orchestras and opera companies cropped up in Tokyo, Beijing and Bombay. And just as traditional Western theater and music is shifting under Eastern influences, so are ancient Eastern arts, when they aren't preserved by governmental subsidy, mutating under Western influences. One example of that is Butoh, which blends Japanese dance with an overtly artistic, Expressionist sensibility that is very Western indeed. Symbolically, Sankai Juku, the best-known Butoh troupe, divides its time between Tokyo and Paris.

What we really have today is an ever more unified world, a tangible anticipation of McLuhan's vision, with both art and audiences reflecting the coming together of international culture. In consequence, contemporary artists, like Mr. Brook, feel that if their work is to have resonance, they must offer an art of international diversity for an audience that itself epitomizes that diversity.

"Any single group you could get together, in any city in the world today, is an enormous mixture," he contends. "We're dealing with what's true for us, in the late 20th century. Our theater is just a mixed group of people telling a story to another mixed group of people who want to hear it."

In the Wake of Glasnost, Polish Youth is Offered State-Sponsored Rock Music

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

WROCLAW, Poland — Five kids are crowded into a dank, low-ceilinged cellar that resembles a tomb, two of them hunched over electric guitars, a third in tight zebra-striped pants and a sweat shirt that reads "Community College." A fourth youth straddles a tarnished set of drums, a fifth is wrestling with the stem of a long black mike and screaming in a voice like a cymbal. The thunderous rhythms of heavy metal vibrate off the pink-painted brick walls. The group is called Vincent, short for Vincent van Gogh.

The subject involves honor and shame, and perhaps it says something about the present frame of mind of Polish youth. The 19-year-old lead vocalist, Piotr Sonnenberg, sings about a teen-age prostitute who rejects an insistent suitor who seeks to lure her from vice with material gifts: "I'll give you everything," he promises, but she is not interested.

It all appears to be part of an awful rock video, but in Poland, as elsewhere, it's the way young rock musicians struggle out of the cellar.

This particular cellar is in a neighborhood of this workaday Polish city that is shabby, on the edge of decay. The little jazz club, known as Rura (which means "tube" — the word musicians here use to describe their wind instruments), serves as a combination stage, studio, booking agency and recreation center for rock, pop and jazz musicians whose exotic alienation usually renders them suspect to the government.

Musicians who gather here like to talk about the groups that have made it — groups with names like Lady Punk or Recydywa (Recidivist) — who crawled strutting and howling out of Rura's dank cellar to concerts, records and some kind of recognition in the on-again, off-again world of Polish rock music.

Most nights Rura is a sleepy, obscure place, where people sit around green picnic tables, sip beer and let Charlie Parker or Led Zeppelin wash over them. But on weekends the place comes to life. The doors open to jam sessions, sometimes with 30 or 40 musicians in the area that serves as a stage. They play for a crowd of several hundred young people, whose style ranges from white shirts and bow ties to black lipstick and hair in Kool-Aid colors.

Though Rura describes itself as a jazz club, the tastes are eclectic, as is demonstrated by the jam sessions. On a recent Friday night, after Vincent and a West German group called Vera Cruz had played heavy metal, a

saxophonist from a jazz group and a bass guitarist from a rock band played something that came out sounding like blues.

"In the beginning they knew the blues and sometimes picked up well-known tunes and you found rock players playing jazz and jazz musicians playing rock," said Bogdan Knabe, the club's director, toying with a glass of weak Okocim beer.

Marek Maisig, the deputy director who helps run Rura from a small room in back of the club, remembers rosier times. "My private idea is that in the early 80's, as a result of Solidarity, people were proud of Polish music and on the top of the hit list 90 percent were Polish songs," Mr. Maisig said. "Now it's changed totally. There are few Polish songs, and the rest are from Great Britain and the United States."

Polish rock has been hit by hard times, said Mr. Knabe, and Rura is feeling the pinch. With Polish economic prospects looking bleaker than they have since World War II, there is little money for concerts and record purchases or for musicians to buy expensive musical instruments and equipment that must be bought in the West for hard currency.

Adam Laboga, a rock fan in Wroclaw, prints ads in Rura's program for the shop in Wroclaw where he sells such equipment, much of it secondhand. And Rura's management has opened three stores, two in Wroclaw and one near Poznan, a city farther north, to make money from the sale of musical electronics.

Even so, "Rock on the Island," a concert organized by Rura that had become a Wroclaw annual event, had to be canceled, apparently because many fans could no longer afford the tickets. Rura itself is struggling to pay the rent.

In some ways, the club and the kids who hang out here are a paradigm for much of what goes on in the Polish cultural world today, where art is invariably intertwined with politics, and the crosscurrents of official and unofficial culture ebb and flow and intermingle.

The headier days of economic vigor in the 1970's were the heyday of rock music in Poland, when young people with talent — and the money to purchase instruments and electronic equipment — sought with some success to latch on to Western musical trends. This gave rise to hard rock combinations with irreverent names such as One Million Bulgarians or, in a ribald reference to the Polish Communist leader of the time, Gieriek's Underpants.

The rise of the Solidarity free trade union movement in the early 1980's led to a burst of freedom in Polish cultural life. Rock became a favorite outlet for economic and social frustra-

tion. Today, in the post-euphoric atmosphere, Rura's relationship with the city stands on shaky legs, reflecting Poland's larger mood. There are small pressures, pinpricks maybe, but threatening nonetheless. The tumbledown building that houses the club is earmarked for renovation, and the city fathers want Rura out. Neighbors collected signatures when the jam sessions went beyond midnight. There are insinuations, if not outright accusations, that the club is a drug haven.

Still, the policy of cultural openness advocated by the Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev has made itself felt in Poland. With its well-developed counterculture, Poland has always been far ahead of the Soviet Union in this regard, and these recent indications of high-level approval have strengthened resolve among those officials who favor the further expansion of cultural freedom for the young. Under Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish Government is working hard to project a tolerant attitude by luring some of the country's rock singers into a carefully monitored, Government-approved counterculture.

In 1979, Zbigniew Holdys, a former student leader and newspaper reporter, founded the band Perfect. In 1983 the group was disbanded, after the Government banned it from performing in major cities because of its irreverent lyrics and behavior.

But this summer at a stilted news conference, Mr. Holdys, a large man who brings to mind John Belushi with a guitar, and Krzysztof Materna, a popular disk jockey on state-run television, came together to announce that Perfect would make a comeback in Warsaw at the 10th Anniversary Sports Stadium on Sept. 12.

And so it was that, last month, Mr. Holdys again stalked about the stage, wearing his trademark dark glasses and black leather hat, with his black leather greatcoat trailing wide. Perfect jumped and gyrated, as it played for 30,000 young Poles, who stood on the seats holding lighted candles and improvised torches made from burning newspaper and cigarette lighters, and joined a refrain that went, "Do not be afraid, Jaruzelski."

But there was a wistfulness to the event. Four years earlier, when Poles were still fighting the police in the streets, Perfect's lead singer, Grzegorz Markowski, had wailed, "I want to be myself." Deliberately distorting the Polish vowels and consonants, the crowds would echo back, "I want to smash a Zomo" (a member of the Polish riot police).

But this time the refrain came back unchanged from the darkened grandstands — "We want to be ourselves."

Hidden Capitals

By ALAN ARBESFELD/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

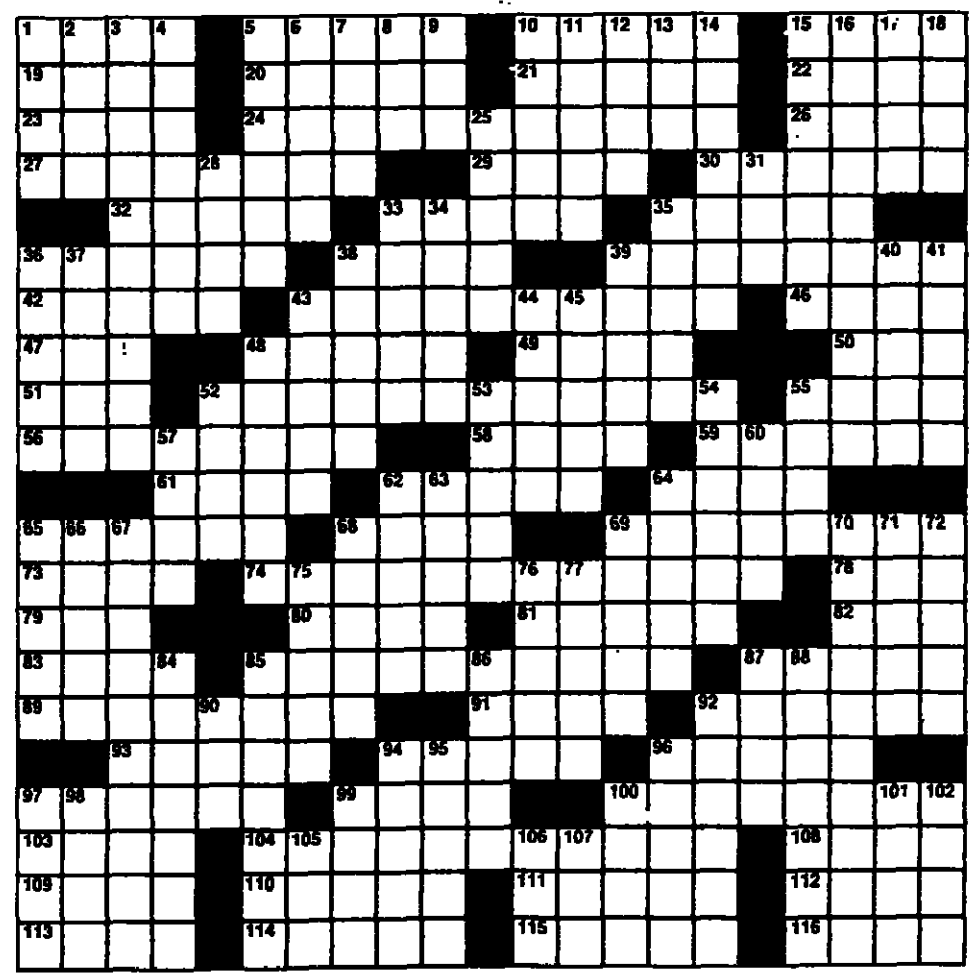
ACROSS

- 1 Banned, in Bonn
- 5 Primitive weapon
- 10 Moslem deity
- 15 Crow
- 19 Vingt- (blackjack)
- 20 A successful Ford
- 21 Mind
- 22 Engine need
- 23 Spreads out to dry
- 24 Mario sees Red?
- 26 "Deutschland — Alles"
- 27 Uncivilized Greeks?
- 28 Home for some lilies
- 30 Upper half, musically
- 32 A deadly sin
- 33 Lift, as spirits
- 35 Pay to stay
- 36 Pleat
- 38 Partners of many cons
- 39 Cultivated
- 42 Has problems with sibilants
- 43 Forecasting aids in Italy?
- 46 "The King"
- 47 A salamander
- 48 Wise legislator of old
- 49 Bit
- 50 Inner: Prefix
- 51 Ziegfeld, to friends
- 52 Contract signing by Lucy's pal in Finland?
- 55 Served a winner
- 56 Like some steel
- 58 Progeny
- 59 Irritate
- 61 Pavarotti specialty
- 62 Hiker's trail marker
- 64 Furtive look
- 65 "Sanford —" (Fox vehicle)
- 66 Pledge
- 69 Takes away
- 73 Like Felix Unger
- 74 Actress escaped to Colombia?
- 78 Homophone for eau
- 79 Gretzky's org.
- 80 Prepare the fare
- 81 Sites of passage
- 82 Chess pieces
- 83 "Armageddon" author
- 85 High point of East Germany?
- 87 Ann and May

- 89 Condiments
- 91 Uncut
- 92 Drink liquor
- 93 Goblin
- 94 Elias and Gordie
- 96 Mexican mister
- 97 Flores, Corvo et al.
- 99 Distinctive quality
- 100 Insect from Ecuador?
- 103 Scarface portrayer
- 104 Tweed's headquarters in Jordan?
- 108 Dictator
- 109 Wavy
- 110 Curtail
- 111 Armbones
- 112 Damage done
- 113 Face-to-face contact
- 114 Undermine
- 115 Gotlander, e.g.
- 116 Single

DOWN

- 1 Letter from Tel Aviv
- 2 To — (precisely)
- 3 Abbott mocks Mix in Hungary?
- 4 Remove, as a backpack
- 5 Withdraw from
- 6 Cut back
- 7 A son of Seth
- 8 Sight
- 9 Hudson contemporary
- 10 Neckwear
- 11 Sierra
- 12 Licitious
- 13 Loc. of 97
- 14 One who serves and receives
- 15 "Between the devil and the deep —"
- 16 Stare at a Swiss mishap?
- 17 Object of Cain's mutiny
- 18 Actor Richard from Philadelphia
- 25 Fit
- 28 React to the villain
- 31 He just deserts
- 33 First name in swashbuckling
- 34 Crazy ones
- 35 Navigational system
- 36 Facial depression
- 37 Springfield, for one
- 38 Lost huster
- 39 Rank



- 40 Ford that was a flop
- 41 Electron tube
- 43 Black tea variety
- 44 German pronoun
- 45 Item in a vectorist's collection
- 48 Word with first or second
- 52 Architect Saarinen
- 53 "Of thee"
- 54 Actress Nissen et al.
- 55 "My Way" composer
- 57 What today will be tomorrow
- 60 Ethereal
- 62 Skewered dish
- 63 Heard the alarm
- 64 Small bird
- 65 Per — (yearly)
- 66 Memorable Indian
- 67 Surrealist's investments in Portugal?
- 68 Kin of hops
- 69 Thomas from Deerfield
- 70 French parallel?
- 71 Chirp
- 72 Common commodity
- 75 Sharp; bitter
- 76 Kukla pal
- 77 Coin-toss call
- 84 Spielberg's "Amazing"
- 85 Supporting framework
- 86 Martin's straight man
- 87 A predecessor of six
- 88 On the verge of
- 90 Turn gray
- 92 Singer Ug-gams
- 94 Like dog days
- 95 Emulate Red Jacket
- 96 Reliable
- 97 A bad way to run
- 98 Pueblo dweller of N.M.
- 99 Tommy-gun load
- 100 Fashioned
- 101 Fanciful
- 102 Airport near Paris
- 105 — Supply of rock fame
- 106 Cent. parts
- 107 Turn left

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

ACROSS: 1. Banned, in Bonn; 5. Primitive weapon; 10. Moslem deity; 15. Crow; 19. Vingt- (blackjack); 20. A successful Ford; 21. Mind; 22. Engine need; 23. Spreads out to dry; 24. Mario sees Red?; 26. "Deutschland — Alles"; 27. Uncivilized Greeks?; 28. Home for some lilies; 30. Upper half, musically; 32. A deadly sin; 33. Lift, as spirits; 35. Pay to stay; 36. Pleat; 38. Partners of many cons; 39. Cultivated; 42. Has problems with sibilants; 43. Forecasting aids in Italy?; 46. "The King"; 47. A salamander; 48. Wise legislator of old; 49. Bit; 50. Inner: Prefix; 51. Ziegfeld, to friends; 52. Contract signing by Lucy's pal in Finland?; 55. Served a winner; 56. Like some steel; 58. Progeny; 59. Irritate; 61. Pavarotti specialty; 62. Hiker's trail marker; 64. Furtive look; 65. "Sanford —" (Fox vehicle); 66. Pledge; 69. Takes away; 73. Like Felix Unger; 74. Actress escaped to Colombia?; 78. Homophone for eau; 79. Gretzky's org.; 80. Prepare the fare; 81. Sites of passage; 82. Chess pieces; 83. "Armageddon" author; 85. High point of East Germany?; 87. Ann and May; 89. Condiments; 91. Uncut; 92. Drink liquor; 93. Goblin; 94. Elias and Gordie; 96. Mexican mister; 97. Flores, Corvo et al.; 99. Distinctive quality; 100. Insect from Ecuador?; 103. Scarface portrayer; 104. Tweed's headquarters in Jordan?; 108. Dictator; 109. Wavy; 110. Curtail; 111. Armbones; 112. Damage done; 113. Face-to-face contact; 114. Undermine; 115. Gotlander, e.g.; 116. Single.

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Ban Chemical Weapons. But How?

Soviet and American officials boast that they are near agreement on banning chemical weapons. Ridding the world of these repulsive weapons would truly represent progress for humankind. It is far from clear, however, that the ban can be effective and verifiable — even though the two sides now accept provisions for on-site inspections.

Direct inspections mark a real advance in monitoring arms treaties. But they do not in themselves provide the necessary guarantees on chemical weapons, which can be readily secreted and made in many factories where chemicals are used.

If the experts have figured out answers to such thorny verification problems, these should be shared with Congress and the public. If they don't have the answers, they had better get to work finding them. Otherwise the momentum toward a valuable treaty will drown in doubts about cheating.

If remaining worries loom large, so does recent progress. Six months ago, the Russians didn't even admit to having chemical weapons. Last week, they let visitors from 45 nations tour their largest chemical weapons production facility.

Negotiators in Geneva say they have agreed on a halt to production, a system for locating and destroying existing chemical weapons, and facilities and a system for overseeing the chemical industry to preclude covert production. They are working on details for an international agency that would verify the ban and supervise destruction of weapons and facilities over 10 years.

The current surge of optimism comes from the Russians' sudden accession to Washington's demand for the right to on-site inspection on 48 hours' notice with no right of refusal. As with Moscow's agreement to on-site inspections in the medium-range missile talks, this is a surprising and welcome turnaround. Yet far from enabling all else to fall into place, this surprise dislodged a mountain of new questions about cheating.

The problem of verification makes nuclear weapons verification look easy. Chemical weapons can be produced more readily, and secreted more easily. Facilities can be turned overnight from commercial production to weapons manufacture. Stringent challenge inspections can allay but not eliminate these concerns. Nor does the proposed treaty thus far adequately address the fact that chemical weapons are produced in many countries. What is to be done about those that don't sign on?

Perhaps negotiators have good answers. Or perhaps they can make the case that an imperfectly enforceable ban is better than none. Or perhaps they believe that something less ambitious — a non-proliferation effort, chemical weapons-free zones or staged reduction of stockpiles — could do more to reduce the danger of chemical warfare.

As it is, news of progress toward a treaty comes just as the U.S. prepares to produce new chemical weapons. France also plans new production. And charges of chemical weapons use have increased in recent years, particularly in the Gulf war.

It is clear that nations must go beyond the 1925 convention forbidding the use of these weapons. If new weapons production plans and the erosion of taboos are not to herald a new era of use and proliferation, effective controls are needed soon. But what has to come before further talk of treaty signing is the evidence that negotiators have good answers to the hard questions.

The Reagan AIDS Strategy in Ruins

While the AIDS epidemic gets its grip on America, Mr. Reagan's Administration spouts, postures and neglects effective measures to curb it.

The President's commission on AIDS has begun to self-destruct. In July, the White House charged a panel of members, almost uniformly unqualified, to develop a national strategy. After three months of inaction and bickering, the staff director was ousted, and last week the chairman and vice chairman resigned.

Retired Adm. James D. Watkins, former Chief of Naval Operations, is to be the commission's new head. He is an able leader but knows even less about AIDS than his fellow commissioners. To expect this motley group to develop a competent strategy is like asking a panel of physicians to design the Navy's next attack submarine. The White House has no AIDS strategy and a commission with no chance of producing one.

Users of intravenous drugs are the main conduit by which the AIDS virus will spread further. Infecting each other by sharing needles, they may pass on the virus heterosexually to their partners. The Administration's top practical goal in curbing AIDS should have been to insure, years ago, that treatment was available for any addict seeking to quit drugs. Yet a shortage of drug treatment spaces persists throughout the country. Some addicts still must wait a year for treatment.

New York, unlike most states, has found money to expand its programs but community groups and local leaders have thwarted construction of any new

treatment centers. So the state needs 8,000 more treatment spaces to eliminate its waiting lists. Meanwhile, those 8,000 addicts continue to spread the AIDS virus among themselves and their sexual partners.

If the AIDS virus breaks out from homosexuals and drug addicts, the first group likely to become infected are those at risk from other sexual diseases. A top priority of any serious AIDS strategy would be to educate such people in the use of condoms to protect against such diseases.

But syphilis has increased by 35 percent this year, and has roughly doubled in New York City and Los Angeles. Experts have not seen such a dramatic rise in 20 years. By this yardstick, Administration efforts to protect heterosexuals against the spread of AIDS have proved wholly ineffective.

AIDS is the most serious threat to public health in decades. Historians will look back in astonishment at the Reagan Administration's flaccid response during the first eight years of the epidemic's spread. They will ask how any President could fail to implement the most obvious public health measures, or tardily assign the making of national strategy to a quarrelsome commission with no recognizable expertise. They will wonder how his Cabinet members could be torpid spectators of the virus's spread, seeing it only as a pretext for impressing their own morals on others.

But the wondering historians will find no answers. Mr. Reagan's refusal to lead, to take a personal interest in AIDS or set a policy and see it effectively conducted is beyond comprehension or excuse.

Myths About the Metropolis: Transit

Robert Kiley, chairman of New York's Metropolitan Transportation Authority, and David Gunn, Transit Authority president, deserve appreciation and applause. They have shown municipal agencies everywhere how to deliver an essential service.

Not that all is well. Doors on subway cars pop open. The shriek of steel wheels on rails can shatter the senses. Station loudspeakers are silent, or shrill, or garbled. Stations are dirty, signs and maps intimidating. In heavy traffic, buses often arrive in bunches; in light traffic, they dawdle.

But think back. Four years ago, when Kiley and Gunn took charge, a train was derailed every 18 days; now it's one every 180 days. Fires and forced evacuations were frequent. Now they are mostly unpleasant memories. Slowdowns and breakdowns are down. And the Transit Authority, on both subways and buses, is winning the war on graffiti.

Kiley and Gunn inherited an \$8.4 billion capital program that Richard Ravitch, former M.T.A. chairman, had bulldozed through the Legislature. The program produced. Tracks are upgraded. More than 1,300 gleaming new cars have become part of the 6,200-car subway fleet and another 400 are on order. Meanwhile, 1,200 old cars have been completely rebuilt. A second five-year capital plan of \$8.6 billion that was passed last December will permit the overhaul or replacement of the entire fleet by 1991.

At the same time, two-thirds of the T.A.'s 3,700-bus fleet has been replaced. Emergency road calls have been cut in half, buses break down far less often, and most buses are graffiti-free and clean.

What are the lessons for other agencies and other cities? Kiley and Gunn began by setting attainable goals: to rebuild the tracks; to operate clean subways and buses; to create an effective overhaul system; to establish financial controls; and they refused to promise results too fast.

There have been adversaries: skeptical union leaders, cautious legislators and resistant transit bureaucrats. Kiley and Gunn started by getting control of the work force. In 1984, of 42,000 T.A. employees, only 600 belonged to management. Managers were not assigned to the 20 bus depots scattered around the city or to the 13 subway yards. Today, the number of managers has risen to 2,000. The new ones, drawn mostly from the ranks, are deployed in every car barn and depot and have the necessary responsibility and authority. Filthy, greasy

car barns and maintenance shops are now neat. Overtime is down 23 percent. Tracks are inspected and tested regularly.

Riders are returning. The Lexington Avenue and West Side IRT lines, among the first to be improved, have seen an 8 percent increase in the last 12 months. Now the shuttle between Times Square and Grand Central Terminal has been equipped with shiny new stainless steel trains.

The next big challenge for Kiley and Gunn is to increase subway capacity during rush hours and encourage people to leave their autos home and ride the trains. This, too, is an attainable goal. Achieving it speedily would do wonders for the quality of life both on and below the city's streets.

Letters

'Star Wars' Could Stop a Test Ban

To the Editor:

In applauding the resumption of nuclear test ban negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union ("Toward a Nuclear Test Ban," editorial, Sept. 25), you focus on three concerns that have preoccupied test ban opponents: verification, confidence in the stockpile and inhibitions on new technology.

But you overlook a fourth obstacle to a test ban: President Reagan's obsession with "Star Wars." His stubborn insistence that his proposed space defense program is nonnegotiable will poison the prospects for a test ban as surely as it already undermines any chances for a strategic missile agreement.

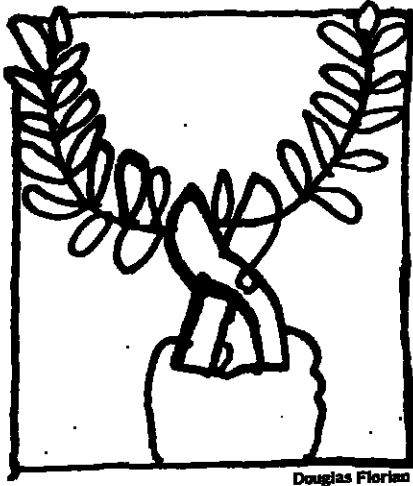
The problem isn't simply that a test ban would inhibit the design of new warheads. After all, President Reagan still insists "Star Wars" will be nonnuclear. The program will stymie a test ban because it is intended to work, if it will work at all, in an Armageddon environment: as thousands of Soviet warheads, with hundreds of thousands of accompanying decoys, hurtle through space on the way to targets in the United States, the space-based radars and other sensors of "Star Wars" must be able to scan, track and discriminate; space-based mirrors must reflect laser beams projected from earth or space generators; space- and ground-based missile launchers must be able to launch their missiles, and orbiting battle management satellites and airborne command posts must be able to monitor, assess and control the myriad engagements taking place.

Nuclear explosions will be occurring in space as Soviet "space mines" explode to destroy orbiting "Star Wars" satellites and as United States X-ray laser weapons are detonated. Nuclear weapons will also be exploding in the atmosphere and on the ground, because not even the most starry-eyed fan of "Star Wars" believes the defenses could stop every incoming Soviet warhead. Dozens, perhaps, hundreds, of ballistic missile warheads would almost certainly get through — and so would many more nuclear weapons, delivered by cruise missile, bomber, tramp steamer or pickup

truck, that would simply circumvent the exotic "Star Wars" defenses.

Given the certainty that the one time they might be called on to work, strategic defenses would have to function with nuclear explosions taking place all around them, it would be imperative to learn how each component of the defense system might perform under such conditions and could be hardened to protect it against nuclear blast, radiation and electromagnetic pulse. No responsible weapon designer would believe his weapons would work when needed, and no political or military leader would dare to base strategy on them, without subjecting them to the most realistic testing possible. With "Star Wars," where the survival of the nation might be at stake, subjecting every vulnerable component to nuclear explosions in underground tests would be essential.

As long as President Reagan insists that space defenses are essential and



nonnegotiable, the suggestion that he is serious about a test ban is not credible. He can feign interest in such a ban to enhance his image as a man of peace, but real progress toward a test ban, as well as a strategic arms limitation agreement, will remain hostage to the pie-in-the-sky fantasy of "Star Wars."

THOMAS A. HALSTED
Manchester, Mass., Sept. 28, 1987
The writer was director of public affairs, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1977-81.

When Robots Govern, Leaders Won't Cry

To the Editor:

During Representative Pat Schroeder's announcement that she would not seek the Presidency, she shed honest tears. Now, Democrats and Republicans, men and women alike, claim that such behavior confirms "everyone's" fears about a female President — that she would be too "emotional."

In America, we have become used to the stoic, self-assured behavior of our male Presidents; for some reason, we feel they are "stronger" because they are able to control — read "hide" — their emotions. It seems that the business of running the government has become more important to us than our own humanity — of which emotions are a major part. Are freedom and democracy — which we cherish so dearly — ours only at the expense of our emotions and humanity? If so, then the bell of freedom rings hollow.

IAN ALTERMAN
New York, Oct. 1, 1987

An Unmanly Act

To the Editor:

I thought we were beginning to accept that men do not have to constrict their emotions. With the published reactions to Pat Schroeder's eloquent tears, it is clear that for many "enlightened" Americans, gender equality means women should devalue whatever is thought to be unmanly, no matter how wrongheaded.

I don't know whether to rage or cry.
CHARLES MERRILL
New York, Oct. 2, 1987

The Clear Lesson of the Bork Nomination

To the Editor:

Objectively speaking, making the confirmation process for Judge Robert H. Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court into the equivalent of an election could be a most harmful precedent if it will be emulated in the future, irrespective of circumstances. Therefore, it is necessary that the reason for its having happened this time be clearly understood.

That reason is not, as President Reagan has stated, that the critics of the Bork nomination have tried "to get through the courts what they can't get through the ballot box" (front page, Oct. 3). Rather, it is the President's effort to gain through appointment what he couldn't get by the electorate, at the ballot box, denied him control of the Congress.

Nor can this unfortunate turn of events be ascribed to what Senator Phil Gramm of Texas identified in the same news story as an effort by the critics of the President and his nominee "to gain a philosophical victory in the Senate that they were denied by the American people in the last two Presidential elections." The President's social agenda was at the bottom of the reasons for his landslide victories. Were it otherwise, Congress would be in the control of arch-conservative Republicans, and the nomination would have sailed through without a hitch.

The lesson to be learned from this episode is that, as the guardian of the unique heritage of freedoms bestowed upon this nation by the extraordinary assemblage of mainstream moderates in Philadelphia in

Child Care in U.S. Is a Tragedy

To the Editor:

In response to Fred M. Hechinger's excellent "Presidential Agendas" ("About Education" column, Sept. 29), I believe it is time for all voters to assume responsibility for fighting against the horrors that face parents and preschool children in this country.

The United States is the only major country that does not support adequate child care. In many states, preschools are not licensed. In some where there is licensing, there are so few enforcers that horrible conditions continue, and children have died as a result of neglect.

Children in these centers are often emotionally damaged for life as a result of a bad early-childhood experience. Many preschools in this country are staffed by untrained people and people who are grossly underpaid. Staff turnover is excessive. Care is not even up to the level of custodial care.

Many single fathers and mothers cannot find any placement for their children. In families where both parents must work, they are totally frustrated in any attempt to find good placement. Until we can get teachers and parents marching, protesting and understanding that the richest country in the world is providing the poorest services for its future generations, conditions will not improve. The tragedy of day care, the scandal, is not child abuse (which has been minimal), but the lack of quality care and adequate programs.

President Nixon vetoed a bill for an excellent comprehensive preschool program. President Reagan has no interest in quality day care. He theorizes that it breaks up families. If people were more aware of this scandal, political candidates might find positions that are clear for the electorate. If people understood the lack of concern shown for our future generations, they might begin to mobilize — and demand that we do at least as much as other major countries do, so that our nation and our future are not at risk.

JUDITH DANOFF
Brooklyn, Sept. 30, 1987
The writer is director of the early childhood education program at Kingsborough Community College.

Minority Enrollment

To the Editor:

Contrary to what I was quoted as saying in your report on 30 years of school desegregation since the court order in Little Rock, Ark. (front page, Sept. 27), neither New York nor Chicago public schools have nearly nine-tenths black enrollment. Chicago's black enrollment is slightly over 60 percent; total minority enrollment is nearly nine-tenths. The New York City minority enrollment was 78 percent last year, 38.1 percent black.

There are several large districts, including Atlanta and Detroit, where the black enrollment is above nine-tenths. According to a new report by the Council of the Great Cities Schools, 44 of the largest districts had 46 percent black students, 23 percent Hispanic students and only 25 percent white pupils. The percent of minority students continues to rise in central city systems regardless of desegregation plans, making resegregation a basic problem.

GARY ORFIELD
Professor and Director, National School Desegregation Project
Chicago, Sept. 28, 1987

African National Congress Dominated by Communist Party

To the Editor:

Anthony Lewis ("Black Is Red," column, Sept. 20) implies that I seek "to paint all who oppose white supremacy as Communists" because of my criticisms of "Mandela," a film airing on Home Box Office, the cable television service. He also asserts that I "align myself with the white government of South Africa," and in doing so, he employs the same tactic of which he falsely accuses me.

I am well aware that most anti-apartheid leaders are not Communists. Dozens of blacks struggle peacefully on a daily basis against apartheid as leaders of South Africa's trade unions, businesses, churches and tribal and civic organizations. But instead of highlighting their sacrifices, Mr. Lewis would rather praise a film that seeks to obscure Nelson Mandela's commitment to Communism and terrorism.

The African National Congress, which Mr. Mandela leads along with Oliver Tambo, is dominated by members of the South African Communist Party and receives \$80 million a year from Moscow. Its military commander is a white South African named Joe Slovo, who is a colonel in the K.G.B. The A.N.C. publicly favors the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the destruction of Israel. Accord-

ing to Winnie Mandela, whose past is also sugarcoted in the film, "In Soviet Russia genuine power of the people has been transformed from dreams into reality."

The A.N.C. rejects any negotiation

Two Who Withdrew

To the Editor:

As sponsor of the bipartisan Task Force on Soviet New Thinking, I would like to set the record straight that there were 38, not 40 members who signed the final report (front page, Oct. 4). David Ignatius and Karen House, although serving as members of the task force, withdrew from it and did not sign the final report for reasons of journalistic ethics. Their names should not have appeared.

JOHN EDWIN MROZ
President, Institute for East-West Security Studies
New York, Oct. 7, 1987

with the Afrikaner Government. In the words of Nelson Mandela, "There is no room for peaceful struggle." Winnie Mandela is more direct: "With our boxes of matches and our necklaces we shall liberate this country." The necklaces to which she refers are gasoline-soaked tires, which are placed around the necks of A.N.C. opponents and set on fire. This horrible practice is usually not directed against the white government, but against other blacks.

Also, Mr. Lewis should check with his friends before gushing over the film and calling me a racist. It turns out Winnie Mandela is quite proud of her revolutionary credentials and did not like the distortion of the historical record any more than I did. She has accused the producers of "racist mentalities" and is attempting to block legally the airing of the film.

PETER T. FLAHERTY
Chairman, Citizens for Reagan
Washington, Sept. 29, 1987

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Open Up the U.N. Archives on Nazis

By Benjamin Netanyahu

In Paris, a candidate for the French presidency asserts that the Nazi gas chambers were "a historical footnote." In London, a new play says the Holocaust was a joint conspiracy of the Zionists and Nazis. In New York City, an institute for "historical review" distributes publications that "prove" that the destruction of European Jewry is a fabrication of Zionist propaganda. In established universities in the West, doctoral dissertations are being written to bolster these contentions. Forty years after the Holocaust, within the lifetime of many of its victims, we are witnessing an accelerating effort to distort, deny and dismiss the greatest crime in the annals of man.

Opening up the United Nations' Nazi War Crimes Archives, closed to researchers for nearly 40 years, can help change that. A mere handful of its files examined by Israel establish beyond doubt that it is the single greatest source of information about the Holocaust yet to be studied. In these files, we found new details about the death camps, staff lists of Gestapo personnel, the numbers of Jews exterminated, the extent of property confiscated, even records of entire Jewish communities that disappeared without a trace.

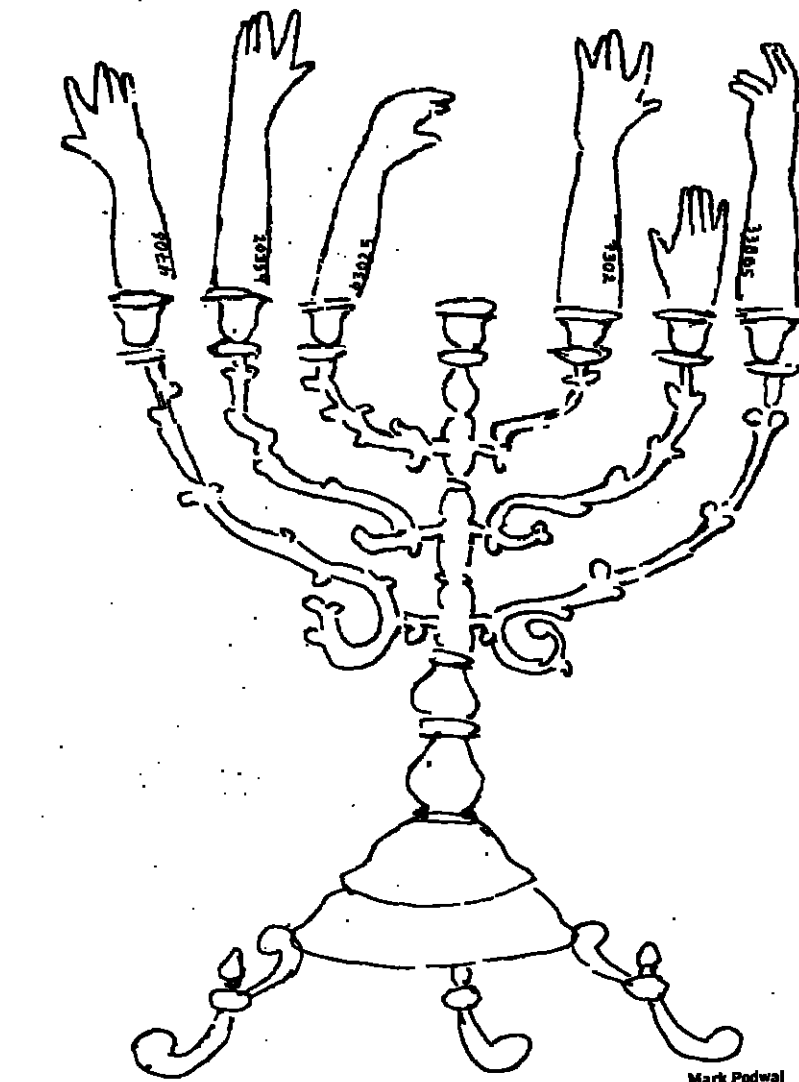
Worse, we discovered that this information was meticulously documented by the Allies during World War II, when it was still possible to save millions. The historian David Wyman, author of the "Abandonment of the Jews," said that opening the Archives is indispensable for a full understanding of the Holocaust.

Benjamin Netanyahu is Israel's permanent representative to the United Nations.

No more silence.

It is indispensable not only to history but to justice. Of the tens of thousands of accused Nazi war criminals documented in the archives, many are no longer alive; some have been tried. But undoubtedly a substantial number of untried criminals are alive and free, their files securely protected in the bowels of the United Nations. In the last 40 years only three of these files have been used for criminal investigation. Opening the archives to public scrutiny will compel reluctant governments to act. There is no time to waste. The hour glass is emptying. In a few years, there won't be any more criminals to try and no witnesses to testify. We shall have neither truth nor justice.

This is why we were stunned when Israel's request to open the files was rejected in June 1986. Opening these archives, we were told, "might disclose unproved rumors against innocent people." But the commission that compiled the Nazi War Crimes Archives did not deal in "rumors." Its panel of eminent jurists recommended prosecution only in those 25,000 cases where solid evidence was produced, and rejected thousands of other cases that did not meet this standard. And opening the archives will not "disclose" the identities of the accused. They are already known, since a list of their names and the charges against them is publicly available in the National Archives in Maryland. It is the all-important de-



Mark Podwal

tails, so essential to both judicial and historical investigation, that are kept hidden.

For the last year, we Israelis have been continuing our struggle to open the archives. Later this week, the Secretary General will convene a meet-

ing to decide the matter. Some have suggested that he adopt half-hearted measures. Under one such suggestion, researchers would be allowed to examine the archives but would be prevented from freely publishing their findings.

This will not do. Access without publication is absurd. If a researcher were to come across, say, another Kurt Waldheim file, would we seriously expect him to suppress it? Scholars may have no power to prosecute, but it is up to them to bring the truth to light, and they can only do so by publishing it.

Continued secrecy does not protect the innocent but the guilty. It assists those who would deny history. It tells us that we have learned nothing. For if the archives reveal a shocking difference to genocide by the community of nations 40 years ago, the efforts to prevent its opening now are no less disturbing. Failure to open the files continues the complicity in that same silence. The United Nations was founded on the ashes of Nazi horrors and pledged itself to prevent their repetition. It must now live up to that pledge and open the files.

of negotiations on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe, and the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks in Vienna have attracted a degree of diplomatic cynicism. Moreover, the talks have focused on reductions in military manpower that would do little to remove the threat posed by forward-deployed Soviet armor.

If Soviet tanks provide a major reason for having nuclear artillery, then why not pursue mutual reductions in nuclear weapons and armor? Such an arms control agreement would reduce the real military threat in a way that symmetrical reductions in manpower or tanks would not.

Moreover, since arms control has become a central way of thinking about security problems, leaders of democratic countries must pay more attention to educating the public. Even if Moscow was slow to accept a "nuclear artillery for tanks" proposal, the public would be led to focus on the relevant security issue, and public opinion would be less divided by a Soviet "triple-zero" nuclear proposal.

The terms of the trade should not allow total denuclearization — especially since democratic politics may make it more difficult for NATO to reintroduce nuclear weapons than for the Soviet Union to reintroduce tanks. If we are to make useful progress in arms control after the double-zero pact, we must avoid thinking in separate nuclear and conventional compartments. A nuclear artillery-for-tanks proposal would be an important step in that direction.

ESSAY | William Safire

Judge Bork's Victory

CHICAGO

What a gutsy, judicious thing to do.

Every liberal pressure group in Washington was patting itself on the back. Senators Joe Biden and Ted Kennedy, champions of integrity and protectors of womanhood, were congratulating each other on their triumph in turning the Bork hearings into the personal vilification and public lynching of a proponent of judicial restraint. The media gathered at the White House for the surrender and humiliation they had been predicting for weeks.

And Judge Robert Bork crossed them all up. Under no illusions about the vote count against him, he declined to go gently into that political good night. Aware of a "danger to the dignity and integrity of the law" in the way his character and record had been maligned, he called for the world's greatest deliberative body to do what a Senate is supposed to do: to take the time to debate his nomination without the hoopla and hype of the campaign against him using the forum of the Judiciary Committee.

Liberals and Southern Democrats had the tickets. The bandwagon was rolling, and a majority of senators acted as if the Senate floor had become a redundancy in the television era. Serve up the next nominee, was the frenzied mood, and if he does not protect the current ideological makeup of the Court, we'll do it to him what we did to Judge Bork.

The media story became "recrimination and disarray among the Reagan men"; the political story became the ability of black leaders to lean on Southern Democratic senators, using unfounded fears of racism to break votes away from the usual bipartisan conservative lineup.

The decision of Senator Howell Heflin of Alabama was supposed to be the example of the bandwagon's unstoppable. But you had to listen closely to catch the Southerner's caveat — that he had to oppose the nomination only at this preliminary stage in the process, and that his decision was not final.

Amid all this, a word began to surface that was at first ignored. The word was "lynch," and it was not being used just by stunned conservatives complaining about mob psychology and character assassination. The evenhanded columnist David Broder depicted a moment "when judges are lynched to appease the public." The pacifist, liberal Republican Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon announced that he would vote to support the Bork nomination if it ever came to the floor because he did not like the atmosphere of a lynch mob.

The charge was true: Judge Bork

had been strung up without fair process, savaged by the A.C.L.U., A.F.L.-C.I.O., N.A.A.C.P., NOW power house operating out of a Democratic "war room" in the Senate chamber. Campaign strategy was set, mailings were made, opinion polls publicized, senators lobbied, the media manipulated to feed the bandwagon psychology.

A still, small voice in many undecided minds asked, "Is this the way to judge a justice? Are we setting a precedent we will regret?" That is why, when Robert Bork crossed up his tormentors with a tightly controlled statement that he looked to the full Senate for intelligent consideration, the response was not a derisive "Don't you know when you're licked?" Instead, it was to say: Let the Senate be the Senate. Deliberate; debate; vote.

Let senators ask each other: Should the criterion for judges continue to be individual merit and personal qualification, or a new standard of "ideological balance" on the courts to which they are appointed? Are the

Stopping the lynch-law bandwagon.

people better able to affect the Court through the election of a nominating President, or by the election of confirming senators?

Let the upper house, given the "advise and consent" function by the Framers because its members are supposed to be less swayed by passions of the moment, debate this question: Is the independence of the judiciary undermined when judges are required publicly to hint at future decisions in order to be confirmed?

Then let the Senate ponder the profound questions raised by this man in this time: Should judges discover new law in the Constitution, or should they leave it to legislators to enact law? Is the Supreme Court's mission primarily to protect the minority, or to insure that majority rule prevails in a democracy?

Should confirmation proceedings become gut-fighting political campaigns, with men and women of the law set up for lynching if they do not pass the right litmus tests?

Stop playing to the balcony, senators, and start the debate on the floor. Influence each other, then take your stand. Robert Bork, at the brink of defeat, has already won a victory for honor, decency and respect for the law.

For a 'Triple-Zero' Pact

By Joseph S. Nye Jr.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Too little attention is being paid to the likely aftershocks of the emerging "double zero" agreement to remove intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles from Europe. In the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the pact will create a new set of problems and tensions centering on conventional Soviet military strength, particularly tanks. These fears could be alleviated by a different arms-control proposal that makes reductions in nuclear and conventional force.

Criticism of America is growing in West Germany, primarily among conservative supporters of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Government. They argue that Pershing 2 and cruise missiles were not placed in Europe solely to counter Soviet SS-20 missiles. Their capacity to strike targets in the Soviet Union provide a reassurance that the nuclear threat is not borne by West Germany alone. Germans fear that after the removal of intermediate- and short-range missiles, their country will be transformed into a zone for limited nuclear war. They argue that this unfair sharing of the risk in NATO will drive Germans of the left and right toward neutralism.

Certainly a double-zero agreement would place increased emphasis on the deterrent role of the nuclear artil-

lery and short-range Lance missiles on West German soil. One solution to this dilemma would be a "triple zero" agreement, in which battlefield nuclear weapons would be removed as well. Indeed, some Germans fear that the Soviet Union will press such an offer, which could create havoc in West German domestic politics.

West Germans properly fear the Soviet armored divisions on their border. Under desperate circumstances, Soviet leaders might be tempted to use their 3-to-1 advantage in forward-deployed tanks to try a surprise attack that could present NATO with a fait accompli. Short-range nuclear weapons serve to remind Moscow of the risk of nuclear escalation. Thus, the West Germans' dilemma: They do not wish to be without nuclear weapons but neither do they want to risk becoming a nuclear free-fire zone.

One solution would be to increase NATO and West German conventional forces. But West Germany already has a draft, and the number of young men eligible for it is beginning to decline. New antitank weapons offer some hope, but all NATO governments face budgetary stringency. Even if these obstacles did not exist, many Europeans are reluctant to rely too heavily on conventional deterrence. They want to deter all war, including a conventional World War III on their soil.

Another solution would be conventional-arms control. As nuclear weapons are reduced, the balance of conventional forces becomes more important. NATO and the Warsaw Pact have made little progress in 14 years

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ABROAD AT HOME | Anthony Lewis

The Price of Ideology

It is a new experience for Americans to live under a Government driven by ideology. We have had activist Presidents, but not ones fastened to a theory. Franklin Roosevelt, the modern exemplar of vigor, was an utter pragmatist. Richard Nixon went to China. Lyndon Johnson urged us to reason together. And so on.

Ronald Reagan has been willing to compromise here and there, and has done so effectively. But underneath he sticks to the handful of beliefs that make him the most rigid ideologue ever to occupy the White House. We see that dramatically now. Ideology is king in Washington, with devastating results across the range of public policy.

The United States today faces what may be the greatest menace to public health in the country's history: AIDS. In July President Reagan appointed a commission to study the problem and make urgent recommendations for Government action. But the commission has been shattered by ideology.

Among the 13 members were some with strange credentials. One was a sex therapist who said that AIDS could be transmitted on toilet seats. Another, a longtime friend of the President, runs a mobile AIDS-testing van project that has been much criticized. A third has charged that homosexuals engage in "blood terrorism" by deliberately donating infected blood.

Representative Henry Waxman, a California Democrat who is a key House figure on health matters, said many members "were appointed either because they knew nothing about AIDS or had already made up their minds to go along with a right-wing agenda rather than a public health agenda in dealing with the disease."

The other day the chairman and

vice chairman of the commission, both doctors who are public health professionals, resigned because of ideological differences and infighting on the group. The only medical staff officer quit also.

Central America presents a second case in which a real chance for progress on a dangerous problem is threatened by ideology. Mr. Reagan has spoken in varying tones of acceptance and hostility about the peace plan signed by the region's five presidents in Guatemala. He leaves the inescapable impression that he is against any

Rigidity in the White House.

peace plan that leaves the Sandinistas in power in Nicaragua.

"As long as there is breath in this body," Mr. Reagan told the Organization of American States, "I will speak and work, strive and struggle, for the cause of the Nicaraguan freedom fighters."

Little translation is needed to know what the President means. He will not be deterred by the peace plan, or by Nicaraguan implementation of it, from seeking more aid for the Contras.

If Congress were by any chance to heed the President's appeals and go on funding the Contras, of course the peace plan would be dead. That is the end Mr. Reagan really desires: to go on with the war unless and until the Sandinistas give up. A fervid contra

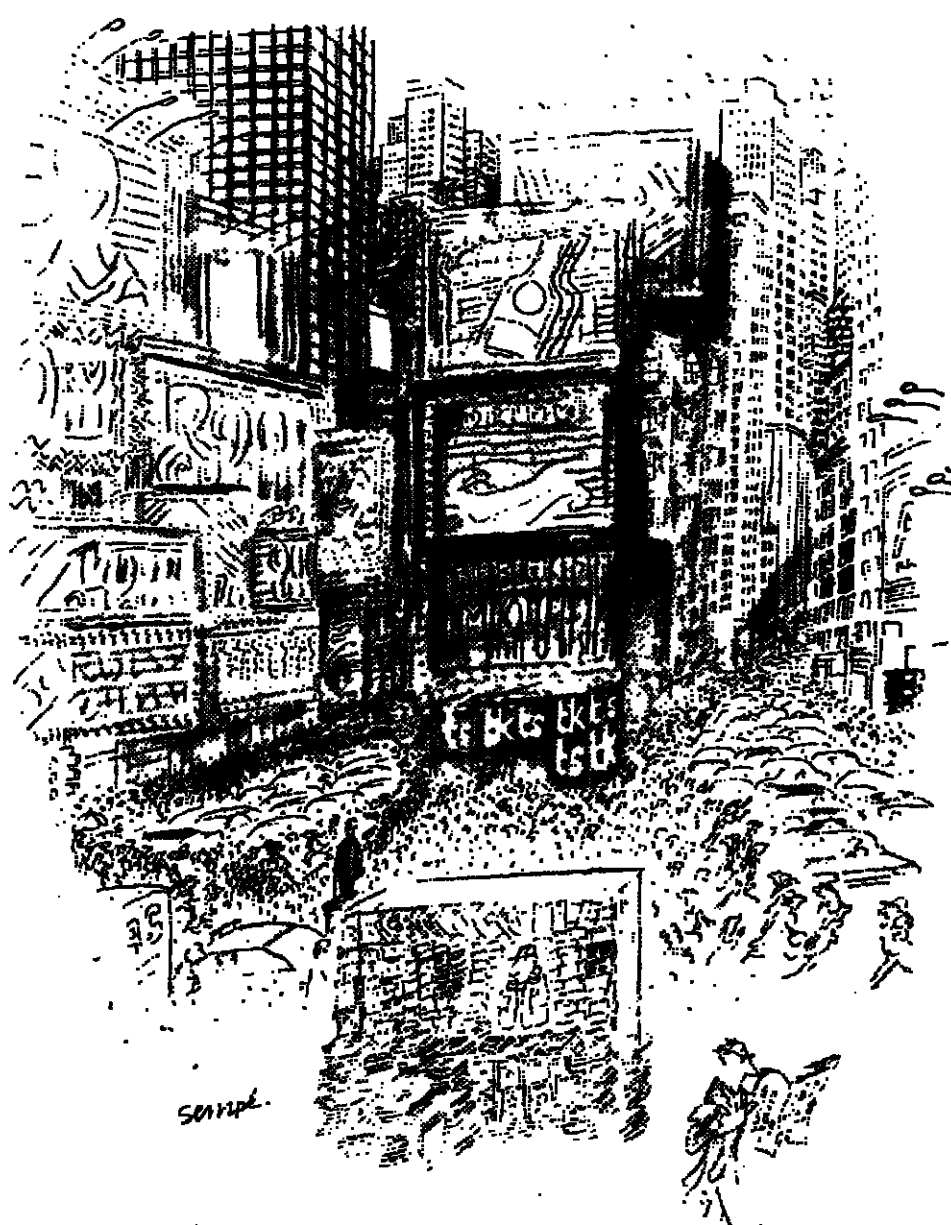
supporter, Joachim Maitre, dean of the Boston University School of Public Communications, had it right when he said Mr. Reagan "must pray" that the Sandinistas "do not mean what they say" about complying with the peace plan.

A final current example of ideology rampant is the handling of Judge Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court. When a Senate majority formed against confirmation, the President had a choice. He could quickly and easily find another nominee acceptable to him and the Senate, or he could make the affair an issue. He — and Judge Bork — chose the issue.

The choice was pressed on Mr. Reagan by his all-out ideological supporters. The Wall Street Journal called on him to give Judge Bork a recess appointment — one that would allow him to sit without confirmation for a considerable time. That from editors who accused opponents of disrespect for judicial independence!

The words of The Journal and Senator Hatch and the President on the Bork affair are among the ugliest and most destructive our politics has suffered for a long time. Having lost the Senate battle on the merits — the merits of Judge Bork's repeated attacks on Supreme Court decisions protecting liberty — they deny that there are any merits. They say the critics are interested only in politics.

In that ideological world there is one truth: the truth of the extreme right. Ronald Reagan must be free to pack the Supreme Court with judges who do not believe in some of our basic freedoms. And if the constitutional process works to stop him, as it did in this case, the remedy is to foul the process — foul our system. That is the price of ideology.



Every message is at the mercy of its environment.

Every ad is affected by two forces: the other messages surrounding it, and the editorial environment it appears in.

This editorial and advertising rub-off, separately and together, has the ability to add quality, credibility and integrity to a message. Or subtract from it.

Which is why these times demand The Times. Its editorial environment contrib-

utes to every message it carries. Elevating it, framing it, separating it from the crowd.

The other messages sharing this environment do the same. For among them, they represent the finest products and services in the world.

So maybe, after all these years, McLuhan was right. The medium is the message.

These times demand The Times.

The New York Times

Hong Kong's Hottest Hot Spot

Club Volvo has 1,000 'hostesses' — and Beijing's blessing. Now it plans to go public.

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

OF all the Western-type businesses that Beijing seems to be warming to these days, perhaps the most unlikely is a gaudy nightclub here in the commercial district where cognac sells for \$113 a bottle and 1,000 "hostesses" sell their services to a pin-striped clientele.

It is not clear if China is a financial backer of the Club Volvo, as it is called, but Beijing's public endorsement — and its patronage — has helped make the club Hong Kong's best-known nightclub.

Now Club Volvo is raising eyebrows — and tempers — because of its recently announced intention to go public later this year.

Hong Kong's strong economy and soaring bull market are enticing more and more companies to go public. The China City Group, which operates six nightclubs, has also expressed interest in a public stock issue, and 22 Hong Kong companies have gone public this year, up from nine in 1986.

The turmoil swirling around the Club Volvo, as it tries to join the list, reveals much about how business is conducted in Hong Kong — the impact of China as it prepares to absorb the territory in 1997, the growing influence of the Japanese, the intricate corporate relationships that can shroud a company's ownership in mystery, a free-wheeling stock exchange trying to enhance its reputation.

Many Hong Kong fund managers and investment bankers here, already concerned about the "cowboy" image of the Hong Kong Stock Ex-



Ronald Li, Hong Kong Stock Exchange chairman.

change, are outraged at the plans to list the Club Volvo on the exchange, just as its strong economy and soaring stocks are luring more investors.

"This kind of Mickey Mouse distraction won't help Hong Kong's image," said James Mellon, managing director of Thornton Management (Asia), a major Hong Kong-based fund manager. Noted Timothy H. Moe, a manager of Jardine Fleming Securities in Hong Kong: "It doesn't add to Hong Kong's credibility as an international financial center."

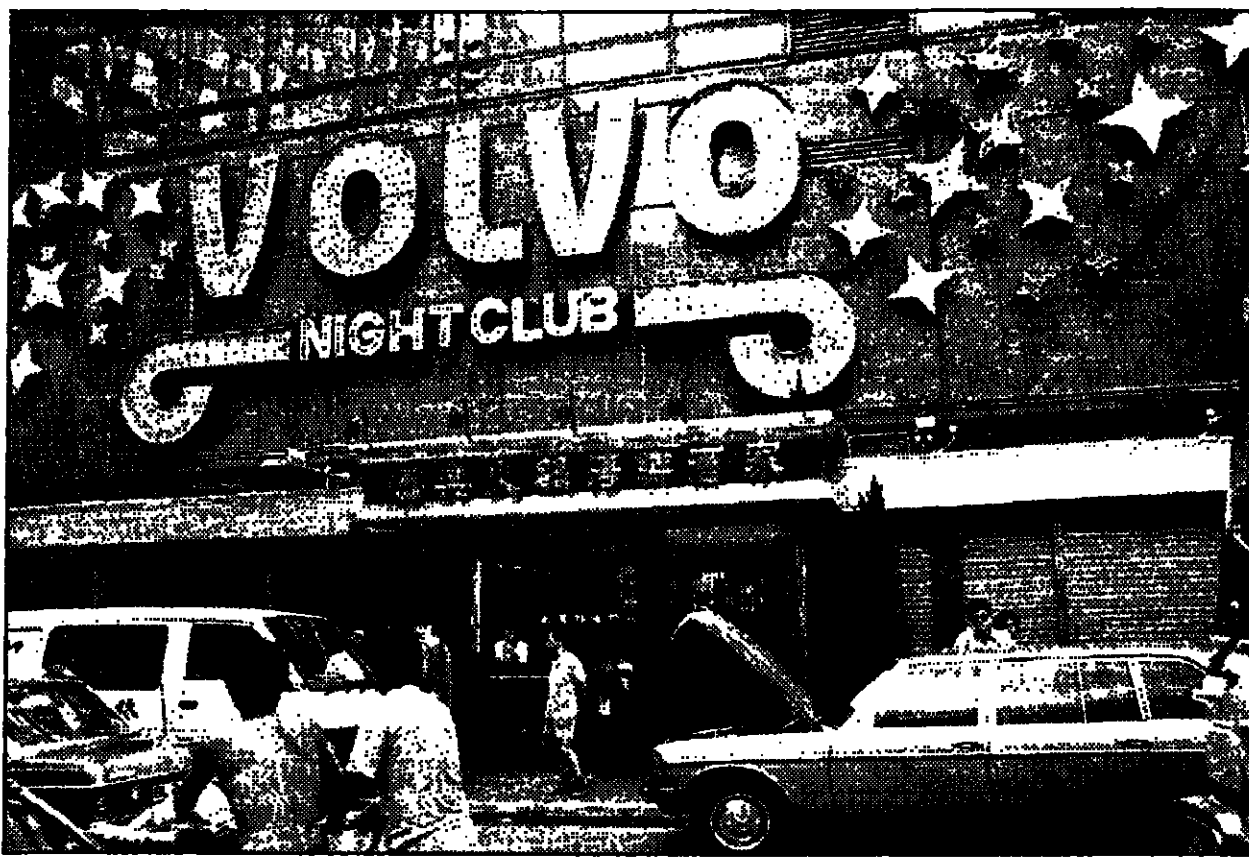
To add to the uproar, the chairman of the stock exchange, Ronald F. S. Li, is an acknowledged investor in the Club Volvo and is pushing for a listing for the unorthodox concern. Noting that Mr. Li and other stock exchange officials were in New York last week to promote the exchange, Mr. Mellon of Thornton voiced his fear that American institutional investors "may be disturbed by the head of the Hong Kong Stock Exchange in effect promoting a girlie bar."

Not just any girlie bar, though. Club Volvo claims to be the "biggest Japanese-style nightclub in the world." Such entertainment clubs are proliferating throughout Asia, as Japan bolsters its economic and cultural influence in the region. The clubs provide young and attractive women, who as "hostesses" for male customers, pour drinks, make conversation — and go home with the customers for a negotiated fee.

THE bars are not brothels. Nothing more than cuddling takes place within the establishment, and in any case the management does not get a cut of the fee the hostess charges to go home with a client. But Club Volvo makes no effort to hide the reason for its existence.

"Let's face it, most of the men come here because they want to go to bed with a girl," said Lisa Russell, an Australian who is a "mama-san" at Club Volvo — responsible for greeting English-speaking customers and introducing them to the eight hostesses she supervises. According to Miss Russell, on average, each hostess goes home with one customer a night.

"Our policy is to provide a hostess only to talk," said Allan Tang, the club's promotion director. "If there's any other business, it must be discussed directly with the hostess." About 30 percent of the hundreds of customers who drop by the club each



The New York Times/Nicholas D. Kristof

Officials of the club claim it is 'the biggest Japanese-style nightclub in the world.'

evening take a hostess home, Mr. Tang said. Prostitution is illegal in Hong Kong, but establishments such as hostess bars and massage parlors are common.

Located in the Kowloon section of Hong Kong, Club Volvo is all glitter and glamour. An electric Rolls-Royce carries customers from the door. The club's interior consists of 1.6 acres of couches on which elegantly dressed young women converse in Chinese, English, Japanese or other languages with businessmen in dark suits. A large computer keeps track of billing, charging \$4.25 for each quarter-hour of chit-chat with a hostess. Topless dancers cavort in the background.

As part of its plans to raise about \$7.7 million dollars by issuing 25 percent of its stock to the public, the club has begun to bare its finances. The prospectus has not yet been issued, but Club Volvo says its daily revenues average about \$77,000, and that it operates on profit margins of about 40 percent to 50 percent.

Officials at the club also estimate that an average of 1,100 visitors — who spend an average of \$110 each — come to the club nightly, though sources close to the club say those numbers are typical only of an unusually good night.

In any case, the club says that it has assets of \$25 million to \$35 million, but that other properties will probably be injected into the holding company — to be named Volvo Entertainment Enterprises — before it is scheduled to be listed on Nov. 26.

THE owners of the Club Volvo, according to the filing in the Companies Registry in Hong Kong, are mostly shell companies, whose ownership is mysterious. Though it is widely rumored that Beijing has an equity interest, Mr. Li, the stock exchange chairman, says that China is not a part owner. Club Volvo executives either decline to say or confess that they do not know. Chinese officials in Hong Kong decline to comment.

Trying to dig up information on the company's directors is just as dizzying. Law Cheuk, the club's managing director, said in an interview that Mr. Li, the stock exchange chairman, was also chairman of the club.

Asked about this, Mr. Li said, "I don't know anything about Club Volvo." Informed that the managing director had identified him as chairman, he paused, then said: "I'm chairman of so many companies that I can't keep them straight." Subsequently, Club Volvo issued a statement denying that Mr. Li was chairman.

Such peculiarities are not uncommon

in the Hong Kong business world, where little disclosure is required of corporations and where labyrinthine cross-ownerships and shell companies often conceal the identities of equity participants.

The first indication of China's interest in the nightclub came when the club opened in January of 1986. In a highly unusual gesture of endorsement, two very senior China officials — Li Chuwen, vice director of the New China News Agency, and Wang Guangying, chairman of China's

'This kind of Mickey Mouse distraction won't help Hong Kong's image,' said one major Hong Kong-based fund manager.

Everbright group — participated in the ribbon-cutting. In Hong Kong, where every move made by Chinese officials is imbued with significance, that was interpreted as a very important show of support.

These days, about a dozen officials or businessmen from China visit the club each night, usually with their Hong Kong business partners (who pay the bill, since it usually comes to about three times the average \$30 monthly income in China). The appearance of these men is also universally regarded as a sign of support for the club — even though they are among the quietest customers, typically huddling together on their sofas.

China's coziness with the Club Volvo is not easy to reconcile with Beijing's prudishness at home. Sex between unmarried partners is illegal in China, according to the health ministry, and several foreign men have been detained and fined during visits to China after police found them with local women in their hotel rooms. But political analysts here offer two theories to explain China's open endorsement of the club:

First, they say, China is trying to show that it can tolerate a bit of iniquity. Beijing, in other words, is demonstrating that it will not necessarily enforce its moral code in Hong Kong after it regains control of the

territory from Britain in 1997.

Second, analysts say, the Club Volvo allows China's Communist Party cadres to experience the world of Hong Kong's nightclubs in a controlled setting. "The people from China are here only for sightseeing," said Mr. Tang, the club's promotion director. "They are very nervous about being at a table with the girls, and are afraid to take a girl home."

Amid all the controversy surrounding the Club Volvo's attempt to go public, there are signs that the offering may not take place as scheduled. "We haven't heard anything from them," said D. J. M. Murphy, Hong Kong's acting Securities Commissioner. Even if an application is made soon, Mr. Murphy noted, his office has the authority to object to an issue if it believes it is "not in the public interest."

Furthermore, Anthony Lo, deputy managing director of Indosuez Asia Ltd., the investment bank hired to arrange the public issue, said that as far as he knows there still had been no unequivocal decision to go public.

Finally, the Volvo automobile representative in Hong Kong, William Wu, noted that the Swedish carmaker might object to the use of the name for a publicly held nightclub. (The club's peculiar English name apparently was chosen because it sounds vaguely like the last two syllables in the Chinese name, dai fu ho, which means "extravagant big spender.")

If an offering does come through, many fund managers say they and other institutional investors will not touch the stock. But it has attracted such attention, they say, that it will probably be well-received by individual investors, who play an important role in the Hong Kong market.

Right now, Hong Kong's thriving economy has redounded to the benefit of entertainment establishments such as the Club Volvo. Business deals are often celebrated at the club — where everything, even the fee arranged with a hostess to take her home, can appear on a non-itemized receipt that frequently ends up on an expense account.

But Nick MacAndrew, managing director of Schroders Asia Ltd., a Hong Kong investment bank, noted that the club probably would be a highly cyclical stock, surging when the economy rises and falling when the economy contracts.

MR. MELLON, the fund manager, pointed out another problem for the club. The booming economy has led to a labor shortage, so that it is more and more difficult for most employers to find new workers. "As Hong Kong becomes more affluent, it will be harder to convince nice girls to work in a fairly sleazy environment," Mr. Mellon said, referring to the line of work, not the club.

While men who maintain extramarital liaisons in Hong Kong are not in the least ostracized, Hong Kong society tends to be less forgiving of young women who maintain such relationships.

Already there are signs of a shortage of hostesses. Earlier this year, 14 rival nightclubs formed an alliance against the Club Volvo, offering in full-page advertisements in Chinese-language newspapers to pay \$640 to each hostess who left the club to join any of the other 14 clubs. A mama-san who left the Club Volvo and brought 40 hostesses with her would earn \$130,000, the ads said.

The Club Volvo immediately responded, offering the same amounts to hostesses who left the 14 clubs to join the Volvo. The "war of the nightclubs," as it was called, ended in July. The major beneficiaries appeared to be the hostesses who took advantage of the rivalry to switch back and forth. In classic Hong Kong business fashion, the hostesses have proved shrewd in looking after their own interests.

"These girls can make fortunes," said Miss Russell. She herself lives in one of the territory's most prestigious and expensive apartment complexes.

The hostesses, she says, charge Hong Kong Chinese men about \$130 for a brief liaison, and ask for nearly \$200 from European men. But it is the Japanese men — who come to Hong Kong more and more frequently on business, tending their growing investments in the territory — who are said to be the most lucrative clients. These days, Miss Russell said, many of the hostesses are using their daytime hours to study Japanese.



The New York Times/Nicholas D. Kristof

Entertainment includes singing acts — as well as topless dancers.

The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Another Uptick In Interest Rates

Up, up and away went the prime rate, as banks raised the key barometer to 9 percent, from 8 1/2 percent. The increase was the fifth so far this year, and, although it was expected, it still sent a chill down the spines of the people who had been thinking about borrowing money. Short-term interest rates have been on the rise — indeed, yields in the bond market have been at or near two-year highs — and the prime has followed suit. But where in the past the prime was the rate given by banks to their best customers, in recent years it has been tied more closely to consumer rates, like home equity loans and some credit cards. The big guys have found cheaper money from banks and through commercial paper. Even so, higher interest rates, in part, help dampen interest in borrowing money to make purchases that increase demand for products and push prices up — in other words, higher rates help rein in inflation. And Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d said a few small increases now might help stave off a big increase later.

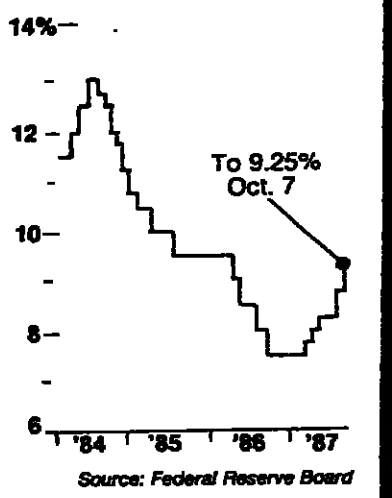
The two closest neighbors of the United States are becoming better trading partners. In an 11th-hour agreement that came after talks had broken down several times, the United States and Canada agreed on a wide-ranging trade pact that removes most tariffs on goods traded across the northern border and sets up mechanisms for dealing with possible violations. But the pact was not hailed by all: The United States agreed to allow a joint panel to review Congressional actions, which will raise the ire of Congress, and Canadian trade unions say the pact could damage industry's ability to compete with the United States. To the south, Mexico is nearing agreement with the United States on ways to settle trade disputes and is expected to open talks soon on eliminating other barriers.

The market took its lumps in the form of a giant "correction" that included the Dow's biggest one-day point drop ever, 91.55 points, and its biggest weekly drop ever, 158.78 points. Analysts cited fears about the rise of interest rates, the fall of the dollar and the overall state of the economy. Then there was the report that Robert Prechter, a widely followed analyst, had turned bearish, and that sent investors scurrying out of stocks. Mr. Prechter later said he had been misunderstood, but the market was unable to turn around. The Dow Jones industrial average ended the week at 2,482.21.

Asher B. Edelman offered \$65 a share, or about \$685 million, for Telex, saying its airline reservation and computer producing operations would fit well with his Datapoint Corporation. Telex said it would take Mr. Edelman's offer under advisement, but by the end of the week the stock price exceeded Mr. Edelman's offer.

BankAmerica will sell \$250 million in new securities to Japanese investors, strengthening the ailing West Coast bank and giving the Japanese another toehold in American financial services.

The Prime Rate



The Bowery Savings Bank was sold for \$200 million to A. H. Ahmanson, which owns a lot of savings and loan associations. The Bowery is one of the oldest savings banks in New York, founded in 1834. An investor group had purchased the Bowery for \$100 million two years ago, with Federal help, to avert a financial collapse.

Banks need new powers to be able to compete in today's fast-moving and sophisticated financial market, the Fed chairman, Alan Greenspan, said. But in his first official appearance before Congress, the new Fed chief said he wanted to be sure that the banks assumed the risks of any new activities, such as securities and insurance operations, and not depend on the same mechanisms that protect consumer deposits. Mr. Greenspan did not offer specifics on ways to expand the banks' powers, however.

Stuart D. Root was appointed the acting executive director of the F.S.L.I.C., becoming the third head of the beleaguered institution in less than two years.

ITT agreed to sell its 24 percent interest in STC, a British manufacturer of telecommunications equipment, to Northern Telecom. The \$730 million deal strengthens Telecom's position in the European market and continues ITT's divestment strategy.

A group of investors began a proxy fight for control of Crazy Eddie, the discount electronics retailer whose commercials play loudly even at low volume. The group is seeking to put its own directors in the boardroom so it doesn't have to go to the trouble of buying a controlling stake. Crazy Eddie had been in turmoil in recent months as its ailing founder, Eddie Antar, has been selling a lot of his shares and the company has fought off some takeover attempts.

Miscellaneous. Ford raised its dividend to share some of its record profits with shareholders. ... Argentina devalued its austral by 11.5 percent in preparation for a new round of belt tightening. ... The House is beginning to figure out ways of coming up with the \$12 billion in new tax revenues to meet budget-balancing goals. ... The House gave final approval to a rescue of the Farm Credit System.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED OCTOBER 9, 1987

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Cent En	28,112,600	17	- 1/4
Tenneco	11,524,800	59 1/2	+ 2
AT&T	10,498,000	32 1/2	- 1 1/2
IBM	9,827,200	147 1/4	- 7 1/2
Gen El	9,185,100	58 1/4	- 4 1/2
Mt Sem	9,006,900	19 1/2	- 1 1/2
Limited	8,596,400	28 1/2	- 7
Exxon	8,552,200	48	- 1 1/2
Ford M	7,761,500	94 1/4	- 5 1/2
Q Mot	7,654,400	74 1/2	- 8
Chrys	7,649,700	38 1/2	- 5 1/2
Vanry	7,037,800	3 1/2	+ 1/4
Ashin Li	6,578,800	60 1/2	+ 1/2
A Exp	6,530,100	35	- 1 1/2
Hansen	5,936,500	15 1/2	+ 1/4

MARKET DIARY

	Week	Prev. Week
Advances	400	1,274
Declines	1,608	699
Total Issues	2,168	2,188
New Highs	124	192
New Lows	208	190

VOLUME

	Last Week	To Date
Total Sales	876,745,840	35,450,133,878
Same Per. 1986	813,535,500	27,474,914,244

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last	Net Chg
New York Stock Exchange	225.9	213.2	213.2	-12.48
Indust	187.2	182.4	183.1	-3.92
Transp	77.5	76.4	76.4	-1.86
Utilities	157.1	152.2	152.2	-4.85
Composite	183.4	174.6	174.6	-8.79

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED OCTOBER 9, 1987

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
WampB	2,185,000	18 1/2	- 1/4
EchBay	2,156,500	26 1/4	- 1 1/2
HomeSh	2,023,800	11 1/2	- 2 1/2
WDigt	1,439,000	24 1/2	- 3/4
Amdahl	1,331,700	46 1/2	- 2 1/2
TexAir	1,289,800	22 1/2	- 3/4
Nifty	1,235,600	4 1/2	- 1/2
Hasbr	1,068,800	19	- 1/2
Frutl	1,067,500	7 1/2	- 1/2
StarSh	1,052,700	10	- 3/4

MARKET DIARY

	Week	Prev. Week
Advances	223	474
Declines	864	384
Unchanged	136	167
Total Issues	1,023	1,025
New Highs	45	62
New Lows	100	78

VOLUME

	Last Week	To Date
Total Sales	54,481,680	2,682,848,255
Same Per. 1986	48,433,745	2,373,565,924

Lifting the veil: The right and the wrong of it

Adrian Hamilton

WASHINGTON.— Bob Woodward's book on William Casey and the CIA, *The Veil*, may well be the most detailed indictment yet of the Reagan administration and the tricks that the President's men got up to. But it is not the specific charges of covert subversion, support for terrorism and deliberate avoidance of congressional supervision that the Washington pack has gone for.

Instead, it is the reputation of the author himself, Bob Woodward, assistant editor of the *Washington Post* and one of the duo that brought the world *All The President's Men*.

There is nothing Washington loves so much as to bring down the megastars of its own creation. The assault on Woodward is concentrated on two charges. One is the deathbed confession that Woodward claims to have extracted from the dying Casey in hospital. With a nod of his head the director of the CIA is supposed to have accepted that he did approve the legal diversion of funds to help the Contras with the added and muttered explanation: "I believed." — a recollection by Woodward denied by Casey's widow, daughter and one of the doctors.

The second attack is on ethical grounds. If Woodward knew all this at the time of the Senate hearings, why didn't he reveal it in the paper at the time when it might have been of some use instead of keeping it as a tasty morsel for his book?

They are fair questions, made none the less unnerving by the admission of the *Washington Post* itself that it wouldn't have run the deathbed confession because it was all too vague for a newspaper story. A nod of the head is not a clear admission of guilt.

Woodward wouldn't deny this. A nod of the head is all he could get under the circumstances and this is what convinces that the story is probably real. Why else risk all credibility for a story that isn't essential to the book or even adds that much to it.

The strength of *The Veil* is in the sheer mass of detail only a limited amount of which seems dependent on direct contact with Casey.

That Casey knew and actively promoted a whole series of covert operations from the attempted assassination of the Hizbullah leader Sheikh Fadlallah to the support of the Contras, the book leaves you in no doubt. Woodward doesn't need any death bed confession to make the point.

Woodward also has a case in arguing, as he has done, that to have shown off bits for use in the newspaper, some of which were revealed to him on the understanding that they were for a book, would have missed the bigger context of how it all developed. The strength of the book indeed is not its specific revelations but the overall picture it paints of an administration gone awry through the lethargy of its chief executive and the obsession with short-term domestic popular demands among its cabinet officers.

The William Casey who emerges is a man flamboyant in his remembrance of his days in the OSS in the war; bookish in his reading of history; and determined, in the job he didn't want, to restore morale and win at least one country back to the American cause. He wasn't a man of perverted loyalty like Colonel Oliver North, or of incomprehension like Robert McFarlane. But he was



Bob Woodward signs a copy of his book prior to his appearance on the ABC television programme Nightline. (Reuters telephoto)



William Casey leaves the House Foreign Affairs Committee last December 10 after insisting in sworn testimony he had 'no knowledge' of secret aid to the Contras. (Reuters telephoto)

a man irritated and contemptuous of the cumbersome oversight of Congress compared with the effectiveness of its enemies.

When two Russian diplomats were seized by the Hizbullah, the Russians promptly seized two Hizbullah gunmen in return, shot them and delivered them to southern Beirut with their private parts stuffed in their mouths. Their hostages were promptly released. America in contrast seemed just plodding and useless.

Casey's response in the cold light of history was a sustained evasion of democratic process that was wrong in principle and eventually farcical in practice. But it is worth remembering that what he did with the soporific approval of the president was what the American people wanted. There is nothing so frustrating for a democracy as terrorism. The television audience wanted something done — whatever.

Woodward's book helps to explain how and why, yet the question of his journalism remains. In the era of the big buck, money is made these days from the book that gives the instant insider story — "war stories" as publishers call them. U.S. bookshops are full of them: from accounts of Wall Street scandals to this inside story of the CIA's secret wars. The print order is already said to be 1,000,000 and Woodward will make several times that figure in royalties. That is the way to journalistic stardom.

But the way to stop these things happening is not instant retrospection but hard reporting at the time. That's the journalism that's suffering as reporters become authors.

(Observer News Service)

TODAY MARKS the *shloshim* since the passing of Miriam Arad, the writer and translator who was a regular contributor to the *Post* for many years.

After fighting a battle with cancer for two years, she met her end at the age of 57 with characteristic courage and dignity, deciding against chemotherapy because, as she put it, she "valued the quality of life more."

Only two weeks before her death, she called me to apologize for being unable to review some children's books. As I had no idea of the gravity of her condition and she had been absolutely dependable for so many years, I asked her the reason.

"I'm unable to work any more," she replied matter-of-factly. "I have terminal cancer." Sensing my shock, Miri attempted to put me at my ease, asking questions about my own health — I had recently been hospitalized — and expressing the hope that her failure to produce a review wouldn't give rise to difficulties.

"That's the last thing you should have to worry about," I protested. "Yes," she admitted calmly. "To tell the truth, all I'm worrying about now are my husband and my daughter."

The day she died was her wedding anniversary. She had been married for 32 years to Shraga Arad, a senior police officer who had just retired from the force. Less than a month before the end, Miri had had the bitter-sweet experience of attending

her daughter Noa's marriage to Yuval, a boy she said she would have hand-picked for a son-in-law.

Miriam Arad's mother tongue was Dutch, but she became so proficient at both Hebrew and English that she was in constant demand as a translator. She translated the novels of A.B. Yehoshua, Aharon Megged, Amos Oz and many other Israeli writers into English for foreign publishers and was particularly proud of her version of the poetry of Amir Gilboa, whose work she greatly admired.

Simply put, Miri had an astonishing mastery of idiomatic English. A veteran sub-editor on the *Post*, well-known for her exacting standards, once paid her the ultimate compliment when she said that in all the years of handling Miriam's copy, she had found virtually no fault with her command of the language. This linguistic equivalent of "perfect pitch" was never put to better account than in her translation of the work of Ephraim Kishon.

The only way to tackle Kishon's humorous pieces was to find English idioms to replace the Hebrew originals and this she did brilliantly. The debt Kishon owes her for making so much of his work popular abroad — translated from her English version into many languages — is, in my opinion, incalculable.



Miriam Arad

THOUGH SHE WAS not a political animal, Miri's opinions placed her solidly in the camp of Kishon's opponents, but it is typical of her that she merely suggested that they agree to disagree and, in fact, they worked together harmoniously. More to the point, this relationship was to throw a revealing light on her intellectual honesty, a quality she

demand of others and always gave in full measure.

"It is well to be frank," C.P. Scott, the legendary editor of *The Manchester Guardian* once pointed out. "It is even better to be fair." Miri was outraged when, in 1979, a news story about Kishon was censored by a left-wing news editor preparing TV's Friday night news magazine. Michael Karpin, who was then ITV's man in Bonn, had prepared a programme segment showing Kishon receiving the Knight of Anchen award. The previous year, the recipient had been Foreign Minister Genscher and the year before that Chancellor Schmidt, so the story had some news value for Israeli audiences.

The editor, who despised Kishon's right-wing political stance, killed the story, and I remember Miri's anger at the rank hypocrisy shown by someone who was supposed to share her own opinions on censorship and the suppression of dissenting opinion.

FAITHFUL readers of her *Randania* column, which first appeared in the *Post* three years ago, will have recognized Miriam Arad's very distinctive voice — warm, tolerant, compassionate and always displaying a keen sense of the ridiculous. She wrote more than 150 of these

little gems, quietly dispensing her own unique blend of humour and wisdom. Her chosen field was the daily round, the common task, and she managed to cover an astonishing range of overlooked subjects, all instantly recognizable as part of humanity's shared experience.

Miri would read the text on cornflakes packages, re-examine proverbs, discuss the etiquette of elevator-riding, advise first-graders, and reflect on a bewildering variety of topics.

She was particularly interested in the direction Hebrew was developing, laughing at such absurdities as *fornographia* and *egg-oz*, or discussing how sealed-beam headlights became *silbim* and, inevitably, in the singular, *silb ehad*. While deploring the vulgarization of the language she loved, she was the first to admit that it was a living entity, no bad thing after stagnating for 2,000 years.

Miri's forte was in capturing life's awkward moments, the little embarrassments and setbacks that are part of everyone's experience, but even then her individual voice is heard more clearly than ever. Instead of shouting "Wrong number!" to a caller and banging down the receiver in Israeli style, Miri would spend some time chatting with them for, as she once wrote revealingly, "I can empathize with their dismay at me not being Rina."

ALEX BERLYNE

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Leading the way to the USA.

Sheriff's persuasive new cello concerto

THE ISRAEL CHAMBER ORCHESTRA. Yoav Talmi conducting with Emanuel Gruber, cello (Mann Auditorium, Tel Aviv, October 6). J.Ch. Bach: Sinfonia in E-flat major for Double Orchestra, Op. 18, No. 1; Bartok: Divertimento for String Orchestra; Neam Sheriff: Concerto for Cello and Orchestra; Beethoven: Symphony No. 2.

LISTENING TO the Chamber Orchestra in the vast space of the Mann Auditorium revealed a pleasant sonority and perfectly blended togetherness. But what seemed even more important was Talmi's extraction of the multitude of nuances of colour and telling subtleties of expression.

All this became immediately evident in the first work, J. Ch. Bach's Sinfonia, but was even more impressive in Bartok's Divertimento and the Beethoven symphony.

Rhythmic sharpness and intensity of sound characterized Bartok's first movement and its polyphonic structure and interplay of motifs were admirably clear. The nocturnal Adagio, one of Bartok's famous examples of "night music," became a succession of poetic imageries.

No less impressive was the Beethoven. Talmi gave us a beautifully balanced and tightly cohesive performance. The symphony expanded gradually, from the broadly-designed introduction to the strange, joyful and wildly erratic finale. The orchestra played with remarkable technical accuracy but, under Talmi's guidance, never missed a musically important point.



ALL THIS was not unenjoyable; but what aroused our real curiosity was Sheriff's new cello concerto. Though not sufficiently assertive, cellist Gruber's tone, and whole passages disappeared in the orchestral texture, the concerto nevertheless emerged as an original and persuasive piece.

The first movement creates a fascinating synthesis of J.S. Bach's repetitious, figurative continuity and the technique of repetition of melodic variants in oriental music. The second, slow movement juxtaposes a beautiful cantabile of a lullaby song in the solo part and another lullaby song heard in the counterpoint, in the orchestra.

The last movement reverts to the style of the first, a continuously accelerated figurative Baroque motion propelling itself to a vividly quickened finale.

The work is easily comprehended as written in the ABA form, and charms immensely with its direct accessibility. With this concerto, Sheriff has created a new, personal style, which he explores and tries out with great success.

BENJAMIN BAR-AM

Israelis bringing in lots of short-term loans from abroad

Foreign debt up by 'hundreds of millions'

BY AVI TEMKIN
A large inflow of short-term capital borrowed abroad by Israelis has caused the country's foreign debt to rise by several hundred million dollars, according to figures released last week by the Bank of Israel.

The inflow of borrowed foreign currency was attracted by the high interest rates set by the Bank of Israel, which were well above those abroad.

Figures released last week by the central bank showed that during the first half of 1987 Israel's debts abroad rose by \$700 million, and totalled \$25.8 billion at the end of June. The bank said that of the total increase, some \$200m. reflected the lower value of the dollar. Part of

Israel's debts abroad are denominated in European currencies, which have appreciated against the dollar in recent months.

But the figures also showed that short-term debts in the private sector, including those of the commercial banks, rose by some \$300 million during the first six months of the year. This reflected the relatively large amount of borrowing abroad during that period.

The increase in the level of the foreign debt during the first half of the year was partially offset by repayments of debts by the government. The figures showed that during the first half of the year the government paid back loans worth about \$100m. more than the new

credits it received. But due to the fall of the dollar, the government debt at the end of June was only \$16m. lower than at the end of December 1986.

By the end of June, Israel's short-term obligations totalled \$4.1b., compared to \$3.8b. six months before. The share of short-term debts rose from 15 per cent of the total at the end of 1986 to 15.8 per cent at the end of last June.

The figures published last week by the central bank showed that Israel is due to pay \$1.1b. in the coming three months in principal and interest on its medium- and long-term debts. Repayments will total \$3.9b. during 1988 and \$3.5b. in 1989.

Butlers, flowers, menus and table arrangements

New service company will do 'all the work'

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Only in America? Not Believe it or not, nowadays you can pick up the phone in Israel and dial a wish.

You can't get everything your heart desires, but you can save a lot of time, effort and frustration by passing the buck to Nuri or Tzvi Preiss the directors of the recently established Memo Services Ltd.

Created to serve the needs of busy people and service people, Memo is a telephone call away from total organization of special occasion events such as weddings; a vacation in Israel or abroad; a first-class meal in an ethnic restaurant; flowers or a more substantial gift to someone special; medical services, et al.

Time is a precious commodity which few people have at their disposal, says Nuri Preiss who worked for several years as marketing and public relations director at the Tel Aviv Hilton. "The services that we provide save people a lot of time. Just think what it takes to organize a wedding or a Bar Mitzva. We do it all from designing and sending out the invitations to supervising the table arrangements on the day of the function."

All that Memo needs to know is the budget of the host, the preference for meat or dairy; kosher or non-kosher; special theme requests and the number of guests. All that can be discussed in a single phone call. That particular service is also provided by other agencies.

But Memo has lots of other services in which it may be unique in Israel - and if not unique, one of a very limited number of companies.

For instance, suppose you have a wealthy business acquaintance from abroad whom you wish to impress. A call to Memo will get you a perfect butler groomed to the last detail, including white gloves. Along with the butler, if you so desire, you can get home catering of just about any cuisine of your choice; an entertainment group, where again the choice is up to you. Name your preference: chamber music, jazz, pop, gypsy... Maybe you want a belly dancer or someone who's good with Spanish castanets... One phone call and you get it all.

If you've got a lousy memory and are prone to forgetting important dates such as birthdays and wedding

anniversaries, you can make a list of all the dates you should remember in any given year and give it to Memo with instructions as to who gets a card, who gets a telegram, who gets flowers, perfume or some other gift. Then you can cheerfully forget about it. Memo enters your requests on a computer and your fears about forgetting anniversaries are over.

Similarly, if you forget to order theatre tickets to popular shows and invariably remember when tickets are no longer available, you can give Memo a list of the type of entertainment which appeals to you most - ballet, folklore, drama, etc. - and they'll give you a call a week before show time to ask how many tickets you want.

The bottom line is how much does it cost? Not a penny more - and often a lot less - than it would cost if you were to do it all yourself. Memo gets commissions from suppliers not from clients. Each and every supplier has been thoroughly checked out for reliability.

Nuri and Tzvi Preiss spent six months preparing the infrastructure for their operation.

This long cotton print off-the-shoulder dress by fashion house English Eccentrics was unveiled this week at London's Olympia Exhibition Centre, during London Fashion Week. (Reuters)

Companies urged to expand their export horizons

Industrialist Stef Wertheimer, originator of the Tefen Industrial Park in Western Galilee, is continuing his promotion of up-and-coming, export-oriented manufacturing businesses with two new courses for fledgling industrialists.

The courses, one at Tefen and the other in Jerusalem, are scheduled to begin next month under the guidance of visiting experts from Harvard, Stanford and MIT universities as well as Israeli academics.

The aim of the eight, two-day seminars spread throughout the year is to help new enterprises find their feet in the export market. The course is only open to owners of pollution-free industries and costs NIS 1,800.

The Jerusalem course will actually take place at Neveh Ilan although Wertheimer says he aims to establish an industrial park in the capital providing he gets the necessary support.

(Jeff Black)

Inflation back on minds of finance heads

LONDON (Reuters) - Oil prices are up, other commodities like coffee and copper are recovering from a slump, and that means inflation is back on the minds of world finance ministers.

Stock and bond markets took fright recently as rumours swirled that both Japan and the U.S. may soon have to raise short-term interest rates - costlier borrowing would damp down spending and check any new spiral.

"It was bound to happen," said Giles Keating, chief economist with Securities house Credit Suisse First Boston.

"Inflation was exceptionally low earlier this year because oil had been so cheap and economic activity was sluggish. There was always going to be a rebound," he added.

Interest rates, now generally below nine per cent, soared to 20 per cent and even higher in the early 1980s as the U.S. made a determined stand against inflation. It cured its own ills, but the process almost strangled Third World nations whose loan repayments were tied to U.S. interest rates.

There are no fears now of anything so drastic. U.S. annual inflation is still below five per cent, and many industrial nations are doing better than that - "There is no serious long-term trend in inflation," said Richard Holt of London brokers Scrimgeour Vickers.

But any rise in interest rates adds to third world burdens and may work through to costlier loan charges to consumers in the affluent societies.

Oil aside, economists differ on whether pressures for interest rate rises in the U.S., West Germany, Japan and to a lesser extent Britain are linked.

Several say international arrangements to stabilise exchange rates play a part in linking one hot spot to another, but others say each country is reacting to its own problems in its own way.

Among other commodities, coffee producers have set export quotas to boost their prices. Aluminium is in tight supply and the price is near a record. Copper, zinc and nickel are strong.

Another factor in the inflation-and-interest rate equation is the impact of international pacts to stabilize currencies after recent wild fluctuations.

The U.S. and other leading nations committed themselves again during International Monetary Fund meetings in Washington recently to keep currencies within agreed ranges.

But an interest rate rise which, say, the U.S. made for domestic reasons would have the effect of driving up the dollar - because higher U.S. interest rates would attract into dollar assets more of the huge pool of investor money which is washing through the financial markets seeking the best return.

So, to keep their currencies within the agreed range, other nations might have to follow a U.S. interest rate rise.

Meanwhile a parallel agreement among the leading nations, to cooperate to get world trade into a better balance, commits West Germany and Japan to boost their economies, to stimulate demand for U.S. goods and help correct America's huge payments deficit.

TENNIS

'Riklis Classic' begins

By JACK LEON
Post Sports Reporter

RAMAT HASHARON. - Israeli tennis champion Amos Mansdorf will be the only leading player in action today, when the Riklis ITC Classic gets under way here at 10 o'clock this morning. Mansdorf, seeded third, faces Italian Claudio Panatta at 4 p.m. Top-seeded Jimmy Connors and No. 2 Brad Gilbert, will open their account tomorrow in this \$105,000 Nabiso Grand Prix event, as will No. 4 Peter Lundgren of Sweden.

Gilbert, 26, begins the second defence of his singles title with a match against local junior champion Raviv Weidenfeld, who celebrates his 17th birthday today. Gilbert will be getting used to taking on the "babes" of the pro-tennis circuit; yesterday he beat the youngest of them all, 15-year-old American prodigy Michael Chang 6-3, 6-4 in the semi-final of the \$293,000 WCT tournament in

Scottsdale, Arizona. He now faces compatriot Eliot Teltscher in the final.

Widenfeld, down in 67th place in the ATP world singles rankings - as against Gilbert's 12th spot - is not at all discouraged by the draw. "At least I have nothing to lose in the match, and all the pressure will be on Brad," he told our sportsman.

Connors starts off against little-known Italian Alberto Parisi. The world No. 5 today winds up an eight-man \$500,000 exhibition series in Atlanta, continuing to show top form by adding the scalp of Paul Anacone and UW Sturges to his earlier triumph against world No. 2 Stefan Edberg.

First Israeli on court will be Amos Mansdorf and qualifier Boaz Merenstein, who face each other at noon. Shaul Parke meets Danish qualifier Morten Christensen at about 2 p.m.

Top-seeded Frenchman Yannick Noah beat unseeded Ronald Agnir of Haiti 7-6, 6-4, 6-4 in the final of the Basle Grand Prix on Sunday. While in Brisbane, Australia, fifth-seeded Kelly Evernden of New Zealand won the Queensland Open Grand Prix when he beat eighth-seeded Eric Jelen of West Germany 3-6, 6-1, 6-1.

Chris Evert beat Martina Navratilova 6-3, 7-5 in the final of the \$300,000 women's trophy exhibition tournament at Cap d'Agde, France, on Sunday.

BASEBALL Playoff races tighten up

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) - Jeffrey Leonard and company are homing and the San Francisco Giants are humming after tying the National League best-of-seven playoffs at two games apiece.

"For those of you who don't know what 'humm baby' means, this was it," manager Roger Craig said, echoing his favourite phrase after the Giants beat the St. Louis Cardinals 4-2 on Saturday night. "This club was fired up after getting beat last night."

Leonard continued to make his series his personal showcase, setting a record with a home run in his fourth straight game. He tied the mark for home runs in a playoff.

Mike Krukow hung on despite allowing nine hits. He struck out three and walked one and benefited as San Francisco tied a playoff record with four double plays. The third ended the Cardinals' eighth inning and the last ended the game. The 1981 Dodgers and the 1975 Oakland Athletics each turned four in a playoff game.

The Giants, who led the majors with 183 double plays this season, set a playoff record with their ninth double play of the series.

In Detroit, the Tigers mounted a 5-0 lead but mounted a two-run rally in the eighth inning to go on to beat the Minnesota Twins 7-6 in the third game of the American League playoff series.

Minnesota lead the series 2-1.

CAESAREA GOLF

By FAITH SPECTOR

CAESAREA. - The Diner's Club of Israel has sponsored new golfers in various ways in the past two years. On Friday, Julius Finkel, manager of the Club, an enthusiastic golfer, inaugurated a new tournament, in which teams of four, consisting of a veteran plus three new players, competed.

The winning quartet (the best ball on each hole counting) consisted of Dennis Weitzer and John Hyman, both of Netanya, Gerhard Braender of the Austrian Embassy, and Avi Dekel of Herzliya. Their score was a 13-under-par 60 net.

Members of the club not involved in the tournament played in an individual stroke play competition. The A Division winner was 6-handicap Yigal Zalech of Or Akiva with a 75 net. The West German ambassador's son, Phil Hain (handicap 16) won the B Division with a 75 net.

The "Seniors" (over 55) monthly tournament was won by Ben Katz and Fred Rabinovich with a 67 net.

SOFTBALL

League and tournament champions Maccabi Tel Aviv opened their fall tourney with a pair of wins on Saturday to move into the semi-finals of the First Annual Paul Parich Memorial Softball Tournament.

Maccabi swept both games of a doubleheader at Tel Aviv's Sports, beating Parich Heavy 20-3 in the opener and blanking UN Golan 15-0 in the nightcap.

Maccabi will play ASA Jerusalem in one of two semi-finals on Saturday in Tel Aviv. ASA, powered by catcher Stan Schlegel, who tallied three home runs, a triple and 10 runs batted in on the day, will face V.P. Tours-American Embassy 7:30 p.m. (3-3).

Crazy Richards and the Maccabi will square off in the other semi-final. League runners-up Crazy Richards was two from the American International School, blanking the Yanki 10-0 in the first game and romping to a 15-1 win in the second.

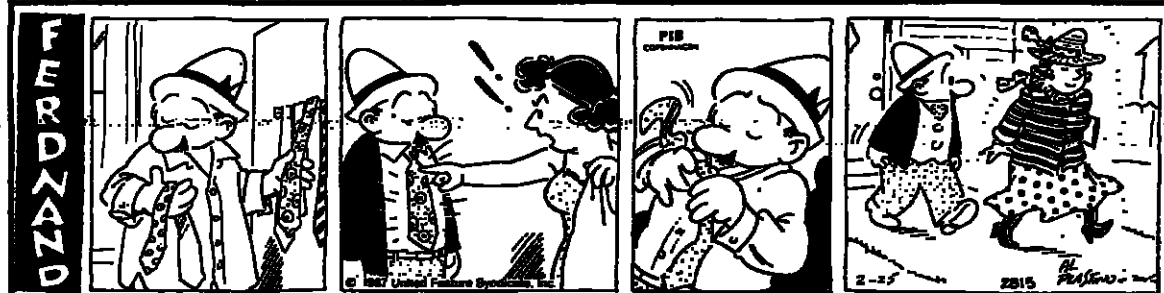
The Maccabi dropped Arad 7-4 in extra innings to close out the fourth semi-final berth. UN Golan trounced Parich Heavy 16-3 in the day's only game.

NHL RESULTS

Results of Thursday's games:

(OT) Pittsburgh Penguins 4, New York Rangers 4; New York Islanders 4, Los Angeles Kings 1; Boston Bruins 4, Washington Capitals 3; Quebec Nordiques 5, Hartford Whalers 1; (OT) Minnesota North Stars 2, Buffalo Sabres 2; Toronto Maple Leafs 7, Chicago Black Hawks 2; Philadelphia Flyers 3, St. Louis Blues 2; Calgary Flames 5, Detroit Red Wings 1.

1; Vancouver Canucks 8, St. Louis Blues 2. Friday's games: New Jersey Devils 6, Pittsburgh Penguins 3; Detroit Red Wings 4, Edmonton Oilers 1. Washington Capitals 4, Rangers 6; Hartford 2; Quebec 6; Boston 3; Montreal 6; Buffalo 2; Toronto 5; New York 1; Winnipeg 5; Calgary 1; Philadelphia 3; Minnesota 4; Los Angeles 4; St. Louis 2.



CROSSWORD

- ACROSS
1 Commons cheering this party? (5-7)
9 Pa's about to pull up in the black stuff (7)
10 One of those hot-rod drivers? Some drive terribly! (7)
11 Successful strikes (4)
12 Copper's extremely happy in this sort of job (5)
13 Drink taken by Germans in the last carriage (4)
16 Train could run true to form? (7)
17 Upright supporter of mine (3-4)
18 Saw wanderer in lead (7)
21 Telegraph's penultimate article, chameleon article, to cure world's ills (7)

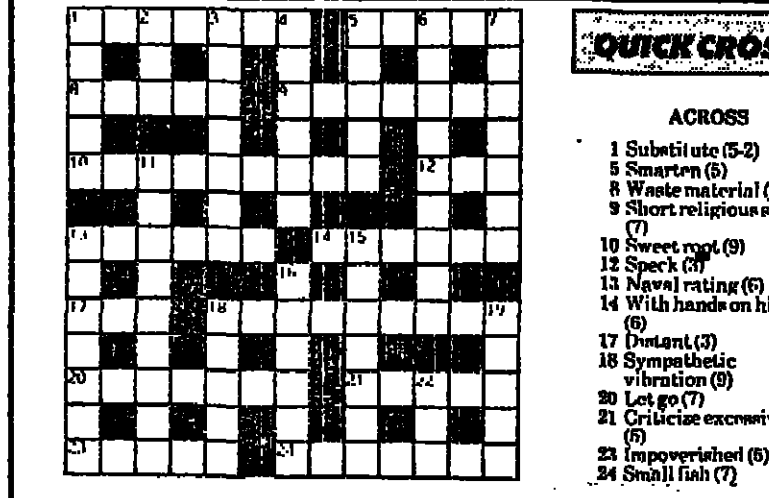
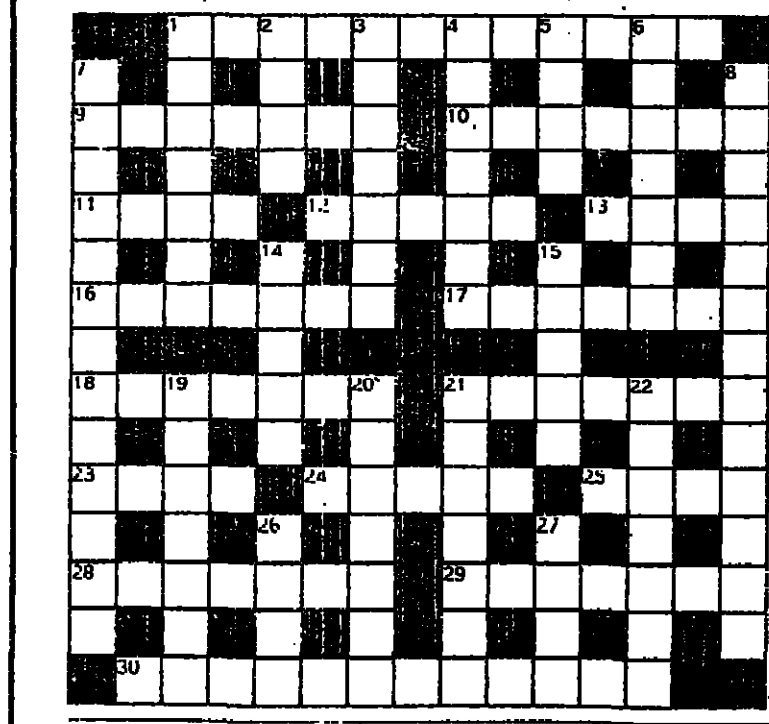
- 23 Revive the annual holiday? (4)
24 He holds everything up! (6)
25 Little woman left an alcoholic radical (4)
28 Nobleman decorated? It depends on the listener (3-4)
29 Survive to the tenth wicket, perhaps (7)
30 Degree of change in the foundry (7-5)

- DOWN
1 Perth is unlikely place for this old trendy (7)
2 Red River of the country that does not open (4)
3 Specialist at hospital to employ fire (7)

- 4 I, in new parish, find a dirigible (7)
5 Change of address to make one sentimental (4)
6 More spruce from a French painter (7)
7 How wrap design affected detergent (7-6)
8 Hunt member of this artistic brotherhood (3-10)
14 Poet has gold to hide away, we hear (5)
15 Make amends for when mouse disappeared (5)
19 A corny royal refuge! (3-4)
20 Bird resentful over shortened name (7)
21 Fog coming off the range? (3-4)
22 Firm bargain (7)
26 Advertise job (4)
27 Case for the sewers in the Tulleries (4)

Yesterday's Solution
ACROSS: 1 Tint, 4 Wright, 9 Tiff, 10 Barge, 11 Earl, 12 Orchard, 13 Mud, 14 Pron, 16 Noel, 18 Sad, 20 Tourist, 21 Pare, 24 Berne, 25 Fortune, 28 Events, 29 Spell, 30 DOWN: 1 Tetter, 2 Infer, 3 Toot, 5 Rubicund, 6 Garbage, 7 Trendy, 8 Symp, 13 Manifold, 15 Routine, 17 Stable, 18 Cliff, 19 Heptel, 20 Amuse, 23 Fren.

QUICK SOLUTION
ACROSS: 1 Tint, 4 Wright, 9 Tiff, 10 Barge, 11 Earl, 12 Orchard, 13 Mud, 14 Pron, 16 Noel, 18 Sad, 20 Tourist, 21 Pare, 24 Berne, 25 Fortune, 28 Events, 29 Spell, 30 DOWN: 1 Tetter, 2 Infer, 3 Toot, 5 Rubicund, 6 Garbage, 7 Trendy, 8 Symp, 13 Manifold, 15 Routine, 17 Stable, 18 Cliff, 19 Heptel, 20 Amuse, 23 Fren.



QUICK CROSSWORD
ACROSS
1 Substitute (5-2)
5 Smarten (5)
8 Waste material (5)
9 Short religious story (7)
10 Sweet root (9)
12 Sympathetic vibration (5)
14 With hands on hips (6)
17 Distant (3)
18 Sympathetic vibration (5)
20 Let go (7)
21 Criticize excessively (5)
22 Impoverished (5)
24 Small fish (7)
DOWN
1 Rope fibre (5)
2 Simple tune (4)
3 Quilting document (7)
4 Serviette (5)
5 Pirae (5)
6 Refrain (5)
7 Distinguished confectioner (7)
11 Square dance (9)
13 Orange-yellow dye (7)
15 Relative (7)
16 Upward slope (6)
18 Prepared for action (5)
19 Penetrant (5)
23 Feel inwardly (5)

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Rape Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call Tel Aviv 224518, Jerusalem - 245554, and Haifa 650111.
The National Poison Control Centre at Rambam Hospital, phone (04) 529205, for emergency calls, 24 hours a day, for information in case of poisoning.
Kupat Holim Information Centre Tel. 03-433000, 433000 Sunday-Thursday, 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. Friday 8 a.m. to 3 p.m.

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Central bank moves to stop shekel shortage

BY AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

The Bank of Israel yesterday decided to intervene once more to ease the commercial banks' liquidity situation and will lend the commercial banks NIS300 million for a period of two weeks. The loan will be made through the Bank of Israel's "credit window" - the system of loans to commercial banks which have exceeded liquidity margins requirements in a move designed to solve these banks' shortage of shekels.

The Bank of Israel said it was acting to solve the situation created by the absorption of money by the government. But central bank officials said last night this did not mean they were blaming the Treasury for the liquidity shortage.

The central bank announced that it would put NIS300m. at the disposal of the banking system for 12 days from Sunday at its credit window. But instead of setting for itself the interest rate to be charged, the Bank of Israel decided that the price would be set by tender. This means the banks themselves will set the sums they will borrow, and the interest rate they will pay for them. The Bank of Israel set a 15 per cent price floor which the commercial banks will have to pay.

Banking system officials said the competition among the commercial banks in setting the interest rate will drive the latter up. "The shortage of liquidity will be very acute in the coming two weeks, and commercial banks will start scrambling for the funds made available. Thus they will start bidding up the interest rates," they said. The officials noted that the fact the Bank of Israel had decided to act was a good step, but said the interest rate could have been set in a different way, maybe using the traditional credit window system.

But the Bank of Israel took a different view. It said the new measure would contribute to moderate interest rates. In its official statement, the central bank said it had been moved to act because of an expected worsening in the shortage of shekels in the banking system.

Two weeks ago, the Bank of Israel and the Treasury jointly decided to intervene to solve the liquidity shortages after Bank Leumi had announced it would raise interest rates by 2 per cent in annual terms. At the time it was decided that the central bank would carry out open market operations to inject money into the economy while the Treasury would step down its capital raising efforts for one month. In addition it was resolved that commercial banks would be allowed to cash, with a discount, one month ahead of time their deposits placed with the Treasury's Accountant General department.

Bank of Israel officials conceded yesterday that such steps had not been sufficient. The commercial banks refrained from cashing their deposits ahead of time, since they found this too expensive. Therefore the central bank decided to act again.

'Guinnessgate' hits Anglo-Jewry

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON - The arrest of top Jewish financier Sir Jack Lyons - charged with the theft of £3.25 million from Guinness - has pleased no one more than the chairman of the Guinness Shareholders Association, Irvin Scott.

As Scott remarked this weekend: "Things are going in the right direction, and it's nice to see people having their collars felt."

The Guinness shareholders - anxious to put "Guinnessgate" behind them - have, for months, been grumbling about the slow progress of the Department of Trade's (DTI) investigation into Guinness's takeover of the Distillers drinks group last year. The probe began last December, and its conclusions have yet to be presented.

The police fraud squad, by contrast, has moved fast; and Lyons's arrest last week was the third in the "Guinnessgate" affair... so far.

Former Guinness chairman Ernest Saunders, who is also Jewish, is due in court in three weeks time to face charges relating to the destruction of documents and attempting to pervert the course of justice.

And stockbroker Tony Parnes, yet another Jew, arrested in Los Angeles by the FBI two weeks ago at the fraud squad's request, may be extradited to Britain to face charges over his role in the illegal share support operation that enabled Guinness to beat out the Argyll Group in the battle for Distillers.

The basis of the "Guinnessgate" scandal is that Saunders and a team of advisers allegedly persuaded leading businessmen to invest huge sums of money in Guinness shares at the time of Guinness's bid for Distillers. Apparently, some £250m. worth of Guinness shares changed hands at this time, the purchasers often having been paid vast sums of money as inducements to buy, and having been guaranteed against loss.

Saunders, it is alleged, maintained a £25m. fund from which he doled out these incentive payments. Lyons was paid over £2m. for his "advice" during the takeover - presumably this entailed finding wealthy purchasers for Guinness shares.

Also paid out of the fund were companies owned by Jewish millionaires Gerald Ronson and Ephraim Margulies, and it is to businessmen such as these, and U.S.-based Me-

shulam Riklis, that shareholders' chairman Scott was referring when he talked of collars being felt.

Ronson, chairman of the Heron Group and believed to be one of Britain's richest men, returned £5.64m. to Guinness in January - money he had been paid as an inducement to purchase 725,000 Guinness shares at the time of the takeover battle.

Margulies, too, returned money, in his case £1.25m. paid to a subsidiary of his Berisford company. He has been asked by the new Guinness management, furthermore, to assist in the search for another £2m. paid to Cifco, a Geneva-based company run by a family friend.

One British newspaper, the *Daily Mail*, has recently been censured by the Press Council for referring to the numerous prominent City figures who happen to be of Jewish origin as the "Kosher Nostra."

It is undeniable, however, that many of the tycoons embroiled in "Guinnessgate" are not only Jewish, but are well known in the Anglo-Jewish community.

Lyons, for example, is a life vice president of the Joint Israel Appeal and chairman of the Federation of Jewish Relief Organizations, while Ronson is vice president of the Joint Israel Appeal and a major Jewish fundraiser.

Margulies is more publicity shy, but is a key backer of several London religious institutions and has also helped smooth financial difficulties at the West Bank religious town of Emmanuel.

It appears that Parnes was the essential link between Guinness and Ronson and Margulies, buying the shares on behalf of the two, a service for which he was paid some £3m.

The fraud squad is currently preparing the case for Parnes's extradition to the UK, and it is if and when he begins to tell his story of the illegal share support operation that those he roped in will begin to feel the heat.

Acre's first mall
Acre's first pedestrian mall was inaugurated yesterday. Located in the heart of the tourist belt, most of the funding of the mall's initial cost of NIS300,000 came from the Ministry of Tourism via the Government Tourist Corporation.

EC threat to Israeli exports



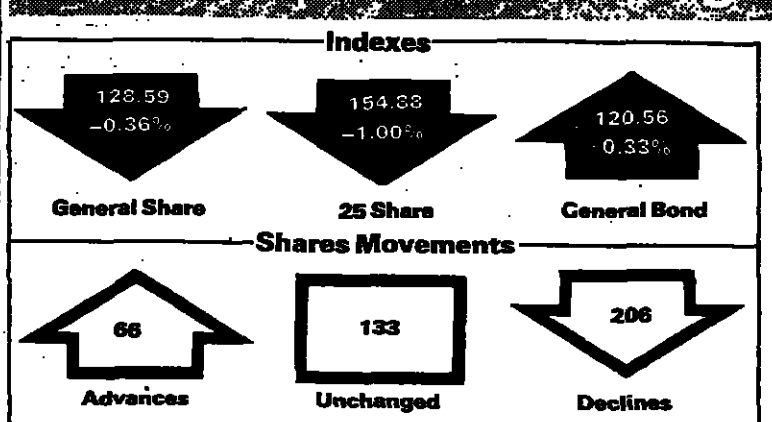
The reception was cordial but afterwards the EC's Claude Cheysson and Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin failed to agree on direct agricultural exports from the West Bank.

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A face-saving compromise solution, to the thorny issue of direct agricultural exports from the administered territories to the Common Market began to emerge yesterday after a private meeting between European Commissioner Claude Cheysson and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres.

Earlier, a much more confrontational meeting between Cheysson and Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin produced an unveiled European threat that blocking direct exports from the territories would "postpone" the ratification of a protocol on the lowering of tariffs for Israel concluded last December.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange



Selected Prices

Name	Price	Volume	% change						
Commercial Banks									
(part of "armament")									
ONE	22850	-	-	Sunroost	18200	10 -0.5			
Maritime 0.1	17500	394	-8.0	Asia	810	875			
General non-err.	17500	40	-0.2	Adgar	950	1714 -1.3			
FBI	0.5	8800	1223	Argenson	12700	40 -2.3			
Commercial Banks									
(part of "armament")									
IDB	103270	680	+0.2	no trading					
Discount	123200	173	-0.1	Loddie	3000	420 -7.1			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Ligat	307	5700 +1.0			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Libet	1700	6807			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Gilbar Sabrine	10650	43 -3.2			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Oron 0.1	10100	37 -1.0			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Wire-Cable	405	8181 -1.2			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Zion Cable 5.0	no trading				
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Packer Steel	2830	1278 -1.0			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	440000	15	13			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Acryl	2050	2453 -0.8			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Betra 1.0	24750	80			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Stalcostron 1.0	1480	945 -1.9			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	T.P. Cal	1235	130			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Y.P. Cal	178	67211 -3			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Agassimain 1.0	800	1079 +2.6			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Alliance	2080	1243 -0.5			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Agenon	2071	151 -0.2			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Cal Indus 1.0	775	6734 -1			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Fertilite 1.0	3535	230 +1.0			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Heils Chemicals	955	7774 -4			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Phidione	535	1000			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Phidione	57200	82			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Kater	238	3258 -1.7			
Discont	123200	173	+0.5	Koer p	8400	303 -1.8			
Mortgage Banks & Finance									
Leumi Mort. r	10000	-	-	Investment Companies					
Leumi Mort. r	3200	238	-	Wolfson 1	no trading				
Mitshkon r	5955	604	-	Hapozim 1.0	920	6258 -2.8			
Mitshkon r	21400	104	-1.2	Mitshkon Invest.	34252	12 -2.6			
Mitshkon r	34	3020	-1.2	Phis Invest.	2600	824 -			
Leumi Ind.	13850	28	-1.1	Phis Invest.	122	11275 -31			
Cal Lending 0.1	21511	2	-10.0	Phis Invest.	14850	217			
Insurance							Yasam	200	8705 +0.5
Avnir 0.1 r	1058	679	-2.2	Oil Exploration					
Avnir 0.1 r	774	353	+1.3	Phis	26000	47 -3.0			
Avnir 0.1 r	6240	30	-	J.O.E.L.	558	1078 -1			
Avnir 0.1 r	2180	48	+2.1	25 Shares					
Avnir 0.1 r	442	48	-						
Avnir 0.1 r	1222	78	-						
Avnir 0.1 r	5989	-	-						
Trade & Services							Morning		
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Dr. Pangloss takes a stand

IT ISN'T TRUE that there has been any serious deterioration in the state of the country's security.

Although a few terrorist acts have been committed, here and there, striking successes have lately been recorded in the war on terror. Some terrorist gang or other had a young Jew shot in the head in East Jerusalem, to divert attention from the drubbing their comrades-in-arms had received in Gaza last week. Capital punishment for particularly grave terrorist crimes may have to be considered. But that's all.

Nor is it true that Israelis are divided on the issue of peace. All political camps in Israel want peace. But the avenue to peace runs through direct talks with Jordan based on the Camp David autonomy plan, a plan in which the neighbour to the east is to have an important share. All Jordan needs to do in order to get peace is to accept this offer, and to forget all about the so-called international peace conference.

The voice, on Gali Zahal - the Israel army radio - yesterday morning, was Yitzhak Shamir's, and the sentiments were the premier's usual fairly Panglossian pap. But the occasion was not quite ordinary.

Mr. Shamir was being asked to assess the country's situation in the light of Saturday's murderous terror attack in the Old City, and of King Hussein's open and unprecedented accusation the same day in the Jordanian parliament that the Likud - which he politely termed the right-wing partners in Israel's national unity government - was putting paid to Middle East peace efforts. Blithely the premier suggested, in so many words, that if only Israel stood pat and refused to budge from the Likud programme, everything would turn out fine in this potentially best of all possible worlds.

Raising too much fuss about terrorism, as some of his party colleagues do regularly, might boomerang, so Mr. Shamir appeared to be saying, for it could in turn raise questions about Israel's ability to keep the occupied territories without expelling their Arab inhabitants. What is necessary, then, is just doggedly deny determination not to yield an inch of the national patrimony until such time as this country's enemies, who include even its best friends, knock any idea of Israeli territorial concessions out of their heads.

It is not as though the reasons for King Hussein's insistence on an international conference as the framework for direct talks eluded the premier.

Had Hussein now, like the late Anwar Sadat in his time, been promised all of his lands back, plus Gaza, in return for peace, the Hashemite ruler would have hesitated nary a minute before hopping over here to discuss the smaller details of a treaty face-to-face with Mr. Shamir. Being a realist, however, the king knows that the most he can wrest even out of the Alignment, whom he has exempted from the charge of intransigence on the subject of peace, is only part of the land he claims as his own. But in order to legitimize such a concession on his part in Arab eyes, Hussein needs the protective umbrella of the conference.

What the leader of the Likud does apparently expect is that the king will in his own interest, and despite the spiking of the international conference idea, stick to the policy of on-the-ground cooperation with Israel, even if it means solidifying Israel's hold on the territories; that this, as well as the efforts of the security services, will finally persuade the Palestinians under this country's occupation that their true homeland lies on the eastern bank of the Jordan; and that the eventual repolarization of the international system, the endless dragging out of the Gulf war and other similarly happy developments will sooner or later dissolve any pressure upon this country to withdraw its political fiat from the bulk of the occupied territory.

It is to this dangerously chimerical vision that Premier Shamir is seeking to commit Israel.

THE MORNING AFTER

One day, in the early seventies. Egged declared a strike. It was another in a long series of strikes. This time, however, to everyone's surprise, the strike failed for the first time. In contrast to the pre-Six Day War era, the population was largely motorized and managed quite well without public transportation. Egged's monopoly was broken.

We have now been without Kol Yisrael and Israel Television for nearly a week. To be sure, some among us feel deprived. But, as with Egged at the time, we have become less reliant on the national broadcast system. Incensed strikes at the Broadcasting Authority have led us to seek alternatives. We can listen to tape recorders, compact discs or record players for music. Or rent video cassettes to view our favourite films in the comfort of our homes. Today there is hardly a family without one or more of these electronic entertainment systems.

Furthermore, for those who still want to listen to radio there is a choice between Gali Zahal - that also fills us in on the news - the Voice of Peace, the BBC, the Voice of America, as well as other European and Middle East stations. TV fans can watch the experimental Channel Two, the Jordanian channels, METV broadcasts from south Lebanon, and even Syrian TV.

So, all in all, this current strike might rid us of our habit of listening to the news every hour, give us an opportunity to listen to old and new music of our choice, and - yes - even to read. These alternatives should make it harder for the strikers and easier for the government to maintain its public sector wage policy. And, in the meantime, for us to realize that there is life beyond Israel TV.

SHLOMO MAOZ

STRIKERS

(Continued from Page One)

Yosef Ben Aharon, director-general of the Prime Minister's Office, who has asked for the resumption of radio broadcasts to the Soviet Union. The strike committee agreed to meet with him to discuss the pros and cons, but a time for the meeting has not yet been set.

If he has failed thus far with the Journalists' Association and with Gali Zahal, Goldstein has, however, succeeded with the usually problematic Cinema Owners' Association. Out of sympathy for the needs of the sick and the elderly who cannot leave their homes, they have agreed to the screening of full-length feature films during the Second Channel's regular air time on a trial basis. No objection has been voiced by the management of the Broadcasting Authority.

IBA managing director Uri Porat, who returned to Israel from Vienna yesterday, was briefed by IBA chairman Micha Yinnon and senior

management personnel. Porat will meet today with the Treasury's chief wage negotiator, Ya'acov Danon. While the strike remains in force, skeleton staffs will be maintained at both Israel Radio and Israel Television. Porat has ordered the return of all rented vehicles currently on hire to the IBA and has cancelled all trips abroad by IBA staffers.

Porat has another problem looming on the horizon if he finds a way of giving in to journalists' demands. The IBA technicians have given notice in writing to both Porat and Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar that they will not tolerate pay hikes being awarded to only one sector. They expect all pay hikes to be across the board.

Thus any solution to the strike (now in its sixth day), must also take into account appropriate salary increases for both technicians and clerical staff. If it doesn't, Porat will have very little breathing space between one strike and the next.

The rule of law on Israel's roads

Macabee Dean

IF THERE IS a consensus in Israel, it is that the "human factor" is mainly responsible for the slaughter on the roads of some 14,400 persons and the injuring of another 550,000 since the state was founded. If we pare away all the psychological humbug from this phrase, we come to a simple conclusion: human beings act like human beings. And as such, they are not the gentlest creatures in the animal kingdom.

Since members of the Knesset and the police force are all human beings, and theoretically highly responsible ones, a considerable part of the blame for the carnage on the roads should be shifted from the drivers to our lawmakers and law enforcers.

Both use out-dated conceptions and methods. The greatest proof is the constant mayhem, and past failures to bring it under control. Why doesn't the public, driving and otherwise, blame Knesset members and the police for allowing "reckless driving" to become the accepted norm?

There are good reasons not to castigate the police. Although Israelis have lived in the independent State of Israel for almost 40 years, they still have a 2,000-year fear and suspicion of the police.

This in itself causes accidents. For the police lean over backwards to be "liked" by the general public, which includes, of course, violators.

This desire is very different from what we remember from the U.S. True, you find two-metre-tall (and proportionally as broad) policemen smiling as they help little old ladies and schoolchildren to cross the road, but when they find a violator, they don't quietly explain the niceties of the law. They simply open their mouths and roar at you, releasing all their pent-up frustrations, until you cringe and squirm, and beg for a ticket so this official human hulk will close his mouth and go away.

The Israeli fashion is to try to duck out of getting a ticket, especially to out-argue some sweet young policeman.

Blaming Knesset members is practically worthless. They continually tear each other apart without any noticeable effect. For their primary loyalty is to the party that put them there. They are answerable to these parties, not to the tax-paying voters.

No doubt, however, the Knesset will before long set up a commission of inquiry to study the problem - the latest of several - and it will come up with recommendations that will juggle around old ideas and reformulate them in different words. We can already predict most of its findings. After comparing Israel with other countries, it will prove statistically that the situation here is not so bad. But this only begs the real problem. That other countries have worse records does not prove that the situation here is satisfactory.

A sign of who really rules the roads is the teaching of "defensive driving." The victimized public is taught how to survive traffic chaos. It also shows that the reckless drivers and not the police rule the roads.

Probably the commission will advise setting up a National Traffic Police Force, as soon as money is available, to increase the number of culprits caught, and that the work of the Council for the Prevention of Accidents, the TV public service spots, and any other bodies active in the area, should be beefed up. And there will be a demand to tighten up

on driving tests, conveniently forgetting that ours are among the most severe in the world.

It will also recommend allocating large sums to expand the infrastructure, to improve those roads designated as "bloody." The latter recommendation will be loudly approved by the particular minister who gets the funds to enable him to expand his manpower and his sense of importance, and by the driving public, which has for years clamoured fruitlessly for a fitting "return" on the exorbitant taxes it pays.

This is not to suggest that the infrastructure should not be improved; only that improvements should not outweigh other factors. If it costs, let us say, \$10 million to change a "bloody" road into a "normal" one - which would also probably have a high toll of accidents - how much would it cost to keep two or three policemen on this road 24 hours of the day? Much less than the interest on the \$10m. And the police would also earn a tidy sum by giving out tickets.

ALL THESE commission recommendations will be just as useful as the prime minister's recent call on "the driving public to exercise caution, on the courts to mete out stiffer sentences on negligent drivers, and on the media to continue covering the issue in order to heighten public consciousness of the fight against road accidents."

Past exhortations have not helped much, and it is highly doubtful if this one will have any effect.

For after studying these recommendations, the Knesset will conveniently forget about them - saying truthfully that "it has simply no money" - until another wave of accidents re-awakens public attention and wrath. And then the Knesset will again pass the buck to the police and the police will pass the buck to the driving public for being "unrestrained, undisciplined, for letting its frustrations out on the road."

And the drivers will pass the buck to that vague, intangible entity called "education," especially, "early education," which is tantamount to trying to educate criminals to stop committing crimes.

EDUCATION, of course, does have its place. And it should start early. But instead of lecturing high-school students on road courtesy, a policeman should take out an entire class once a month or so and show its members how to spot violations and how to write out tickets.

(The best place to do this is on a busy highway or intersection during the morning or late afternoon rush-hours. Here, drivers thumb their noses at the police, knowing full well that the latter will do nothing to stop the free flow of traffic, thus causing a traffic jam, punishing the innocent and endangering a shower of curses and honking horns.)

Education should take another form. The police should issue a daily bulletin: two persons were killed yesterday, 24 badly injured, 53 medium to slightly injured, 134 were charged in court, 12 were sentenced to prison terms of six months to two years, 121 had their licences revoked, 20,000 received reports for serious traffic violations, and 15,000 got parking tickets.

Such an announcement would convince many drivers to think twice

about deliberate violations.

The problem is not the conventional education of children, pedestrians and drivers. Most of them know the rules and regulations; the problem is that they deliberately ignore them. And as far as the driver is concerned, when he gets his licence he thinks it is also a licence to drive as he sees fit.

There are only two main restraining factors: fear of an accident, and fear of the police. As for the first, despite the carnage on the roads, most drivers belong to the "it won't happen to me" category. Statistics bear them out. Only a small percentage of drivers are involved in accidents.

As for the fear of being caught, the chances are also slim. Estimates say that only one out of several hundred violations (excluding illegal parking) get caught.

THE POLICE have one excuse - lack of manpower - for failing to bring order on the roads. This may really be a reason, but it still has to be proved. No one, as far as we know, has compared the size of the Israeli police force with one in a country of comparable size.

And if someone does, and proves that the Israel police force seems more than adequate, the police will provide a standard answer: which other force is faced with people demonstrating on the slightest provocation, and often without provocation? Which force is fighting terrorists who have declared an all-out and bloody war on their country?

These arguments, while true, fail to tell the whole story. What force has to cope with so few cases of violent or armed robbery, of drunk driving, of soft and hard drugs? (Although Israelis are making valiant efforts to catch up.)

What is material is that the police, with a little imagination, thought, planning and legislation, can easily increase the effectiveness of its manpower tremendously.

They can turn over to others many routine tasks, such as giving out parking tickets. There is no earthly reason why the local authorities cannot take over this job, earning a little extra income at the same time. Or if the local authorities refuse, the American tendency to "privatize" certain sectors of public life could be followed.

PRESENT MANPOWER can be utilized much more efficiently. More police in civilian clothes in unmarked cars should patrol the roads.

Particulars of an offence should be broadcast to police headquarters, where the relevant information should be computerized. Reports should be mailed the same evening by registered mail. And this can be done, for the banks are doing it every working day. This system alone should increase the number of violators caught tenfold, if not twentyfold.

The police also have a reservoir of manpower it can tap.

This solution is radical, but it would supply quantities of extra manpower while also being "self-educational." It is based on a simple premise: drivers who deliberately violate traffic laws commit a criminal act, even if they do not have an accident. But in the overwhelming majority of cases they are far from being criminals in the accepted sense.

Most drivers who kill or injure a person feel truly contrite. They have to live with the knowledge that their foolishness robbed a person of his life, or crippled him.

Many of these drivers actually want to atone for their sins. And killing and maiming innocent persons is surely a sin.

These drivers also want to help prevent other accidents. What better way than to replace stiff fines;

Dry Bones



licence revocation, jail sentences, etc., than by culling them for those capable of aiding the police in enforcing the law?

Surely there are a lot of convicted drivers in the community who, after a few hours of instruction, would at least be qualified to give out parking tickets. Many could even be used as "back-up" men and women in police cars.

And if they refused to reinforce the police they could be given instruction in taking care of the mutilated victims of traffic accidents.

WHY HAVEN'T these methods been tried out? There are many reasons, but probably the main excuse is due to thinking: "This is the way we've always done it." There is no attempt to start afresh with new ideas, new plans, new methods.

The entire approach to punishment should be revised. At present, the police spend most of their time on the "ghastly violations," i.e., trying to place blame for the murders and near-murders on the road. With added manpower, much of the emphasis should be shifted to catching the "deliberate" violators before they cause an accident, not after.

And today's habit of not even investigating minor accidents should be jettisoned, for most are caused by "deliberate" violations. At present, all these minor cases are termed "damage only," and left to the insurance companies. It is in this ignored area that the police should be especially active, using recruited manpower to work off their punishment "on the road."

Since the police can catch, let us assume, only one out of a hundred violators, lawmakers have devised a system where the punishment imposed on the one driver caught is out of all proportion to the seriousness of his offence. But it is the certainty of punishment, not the severity of punishment that will deter drivers, most of whom believe today that they will not be caught. And they are quite right.

BUT ALTHOUGH using increased manpower to step up law enforcement - which is probably the only "educational" language some drivers understand - the main thrust in solving the problem should be by enlisting participation of the wide public, drivers and others. At present there is a distinct division between the decent driver and the pedestrian, between "us" and "them."

Just as war is too important to be left to the generals, bringing order to our roads is too important to be left in the hands of the politicians and the police. A method of "self-policing" must be established. The remarkable reasons

duction in accidents outside schools when the pupil and student "Safety Squads" were set up years ago is a good example of what can be done.

So far, the police have done almost everything possible to keep public participation down to a minimum. If you doubt this statement, try reporting to the police after you've had to run for your life when some over-enthusiastic driver hurled half a ton of steel and glass at you while crossing the street properly on a pedestrian crossing.

The police may be sympathetic, but they will tell you promptly: it's your word against his. The case can never be proved in court. Every driver is innocent until he has an accident - and then he tries to put the blame on someone or something else.

And if you do find witnesses, you will soon learn that they do not want to get "involved," either with the police or with the driver they may have to face in court.

There is no reason why a system of "semi-reports" should not be established. These would not impose fines, but simply be entered in a driver's computerized record. When a violator was brought to court for another offence, and his dossier was found to be fat with reported violations, the judge could justifiably impose the maximum sentence and fine, and not the minimum, as is frequently done today when the driver pleads that he will drive carefully in future.

These "semi-reports" could be given out by professional drivers and ambulance drivers, as well as by several thousand volunteers for this specific purpose. Israelis volunteer for everything else. Perhaps healthy pensioners could be enlisted. Especially from families that have lost a member in an accident.

Volunteers and their "semi-reports" would also help shift the viewpoint of the public, which now says "let the police handle it," to a feeling that "accidents are the business of the public." And if nothing more were achieved, it still would encourage these volunteers themselves to drive more carefully.

And a "Public Traffic Commission" of laymen should be set up to advise and check up on the police.

In the final analysis, the single most important cause of traffic accidents in Israel is not the drivers going wild, but the failure of the authorities to bring them to heel by adopting new methods of enforcing the law to the hilt.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

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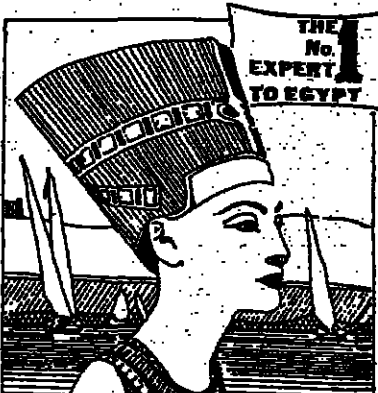
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